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No. 26 1954

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUTDOOR HISTORICAL DRAMA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO "UNTO THESE HILLS"*

By Kermit Hunter

The outdoor drama of today, although it is based on historical incidents and actual historical characters, makes an effort to portray the sense of history rather than the dry fact. We seek verisimilitude not of fact but of tone and mood. Our task in the historical drama is to avoid violating the *spirit* of history. If in Shakespeare the hero of the history plays is England, then the hero of the present outdoor drama is America, and not any individual historical character.

The shifting of minor dates, the collecting of historically separated characters into the same scene, the discarding of irrelevant material in order to emphasize the pertinent facts concerning a man or an era—these methods should be acceptable now and always, especially since the audience has been told that certain modifications in history have been made.

We have had some protest over the portrayal of Andrew Jackson at Cherokee. We have explained that to the Indians all over America the name of Jackson is almost synonymous with The Devil, that even today the memory of Jackson causes Indians to growl to themselves—and that we had to portray Jackson as something of a "stage villain" in order to tell the Cherokee story from the standpoint of the Indians themselves. The Governor of Tennessee wrote to the Governor of North Carolina protesting our treatment of Jackson, insisting that the play be stopped because it was "a travesty on American history."

If we have failed to show Jackson's dignity and strength, if we have failed to catch the boldness and the many-sided abilities of Jackson, then we must remind the public that neither have we tried to capture the exact likenesses of any other white characters in the play, since "Unto These Hills" is of the Cherokee, and we play up the Indian characters and play down the whites. If we have accidentally made Jackson appear ludicrous, then we must remind the critics that we have never yet been able to find an actor who could portray Jackson, that we are open for suggestions along that line, and that we are trying our best to find an actor who can show Jackson as he appeared to the Indians and at the same time possess the qualities of greatness which Jackson had.

Verisimilitude—and artistic integrity—demand that Jackson in "Unto These Hills" be an unfavorable character. We recognize, of course, that Jackson was without doubt one of our really great Americans, a sincere and earnest patriot trying to do the right as God gave him the power to

*Adapted from an address at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical society in Knoxville, October 10, 1953.

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see the right. But in viewing the Indian removals of the 1830's we must also bear in mind that the Cherokee, a more advanced and cultured group than any of the other Indians, suffered untold hardships and misery because of the Indian policies of the federal government. It was Jackson who was in the White House, and on Jackson fell the blame, so the Indians felt, although any one of a hundred prominent Americans of that period shared his feelings that the Indians had to move west. To the Indians of all tribes, Jackson became their bitter enemy. Thus the writer who interprets history must choose the path which will bear out his larger theme, at the expense of individual characters. The mood of the Cherokee in this incident *is* authentic.

The outdoor drama often demands many intentional inaccuracies in time and place, for the purpose of fitting people and events into a stream of thought which, although it may violate the actual facts of a particular historical moment, does not alter the spirit or the mood or the truth of history itself. And, strangely enough, there is rarely any criticism of such "mistakes," the critics usually commenting on portions of history taken right out of the book. Thus, we find many scholars quarreling with what is historically accepted as fact, and passing unnoticed over portions which are pure fiction.

In "Unto These Hills" we had two leading characters whose names, in the outdoor theatre, sounded very much alike: Junaluska and Yonaguska. We changed the latter to Drowning Bear, so the audience would not be confused. One scholar criticized us for dropping the beautiful melodic name of Yonaguska and substituting the commonplace English equivalent, without realizing that two similar names would get confused on a large stage in the night atmosphere.

As a further example, no one can prove perhaps whether or not Jackson's life was saved by Junaluska at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814, or whether it was actually saved by anyone other than the Almighty; but the Cherokee for 180 years have believed Junaluska did the trick, and in order to maintain our purpose of telling the Cherokee story, we were forced to use that idea. Further, a certain Major Davis, in Winfield Scott's army that removed the Cherokee to the West, is shown in "Unto These Hills" as resigning from the army to become a friend of the Indians, although historically we know only that he decried the bitter treatment of the Cherokee, that he wrote at least one letter about it to the War Department, and that he did resign from the army for some reason. Yet, there is no quarrel apparently with these obvious liberties. Oddly enough, it is only the historical fact which draws criticism.

Realism involves "relation to life," which in turn means a close relation to the basic *meaning* of the life of a given era. *Selection* of material must

remain one of the prime considerations in creative effort, if art is to be anything more than a dry recital of facts, because we are trying to interpret history in such a way that the audience of 1953 will feel and comprehend the importance of basic American ideals.

The present trend of our social thinking seems to be more and more toward a selfish, inward-turning search for security, both national and individual. In seeking for meaning in American history, we invariably find that the founders and shapers of American democracy were not men who sought security above all else. They held, first of all, a firm belief in the existence of God and in the presence of God in individual lives. As a result of this belief they also held a great regard for the dignity and worth of individuals, so that men helped and encouraged each other, and protected the weak. A third great factor in the thinking of America's founding fathers was their positive and affirmative faith, their forward-looking confidence in the right.

It is our belief, in the outdoor drama field, that these simple, fundamental values, so obvious and so often repeated, are the basis of a solution for the many problems and crises of 1953. There is no one cure for all problems, but if we can reach a state of mind where these fundamental American doctrines direct and color our thinking, the solution to most of our problems will be obvious. One cannot imagine Jackson, or Jefferson, or Lincoln, or Daniel Webster being *afraid* of communism, because they were too solidly convinced of the efficacy of democracy; for this reason it is good for us today to re-examine the beliefs and ideals of such men, especially since we so often become afraid, and depend on a negative, defensive approach to the social complexities of 1953.

For these reasons it is important that American history be catalogued and preserved, that it be collected and sorted and studied and published, especially in small groups and in local areas. A nation must study its past in order to realize its proper direction, in order to be able to direct its future. And if art is to become a meaningful factor in our lives—whether music, painting, literature, drama, or any other branch—it must have this historical data to depend upon. It must have the facts, clear and unbiased and honest, so that a proper interpretation of history can be made. This is why students of history, gathered in local groups and maintaining an annual program of study and research, are vastly important to those of us who try to write American history in the outdoor drama. We owe a great debt to you, and we appreciate your continued efforts to help us.

The Cherokee drama, "Unto These Hills," and to a greater extent "Horn in the West," had to depend to a large extent on local history. While the Cherokee Removal of 1838 has been written large in certain portions of American history, there is a vast field of local historical incidents which

play a big role in such a drama. We need to know what people wore, what they ate, what they did, what tools and implements they used, the things they talked about. We need to know the idioms of their language, their music, their habits and manners, because drama is based on the portrayal of individual people. The more of the character of the people we can find, the better will be the interpretation. The important thing to us is not the romanticized, "doctored-up" versions of local history, where the writer or historian assumes that certain things "must have been this way," but the factual history, the history based on known and provable things. The historian who interprets history is doing the same thing we are; therefore we do not want his interpretation. We need the facts, so that we can make an interpretation for the drama.

Thus it is obvious that we depend strongly on historical research, and if we are forced to concentrate and "accordianize" historical facts in order to keep a clear plot line or to achieve dramatic unity, we strive never to create a wrong impression of history, or deliberately to falsify or discolor an incident or a period merely for the sake of good drama. The simple conclusion is, therefore, that without local historical groups such as yours, the outdoor drama as we know it would be impossible. We recognize that fact, and we encourage you to keep going year after year, so that whatever we can say or do to the glory of this nation and of mankind will be to a great extent the result of the work you are doing.

TENNESSEE OPINION OF THE MEXICAN WAR AS REFLECTED IN THE STATE PRESS*

By Billy H. Gilley

The annexation of Texas and the resulting Mexican War were of special interest to Tennesseans. Many of their friends and relatives had been among the early immigrants to the Texas territory and tales arising out of the Texan Revolution of 1835-36 engendered a deep hatred toward Mexico. This bitterness was increased by Mexico's refusal to recognize the independence of Texas. Also, President James K. Polk, a Tennessean, formulated the expansionist policy which in May, 1846, precipitated the United States into war with Mexico. Consequently, thousands of Tennesseans at the outbreak of hostilities volunteered to fight Mexico, earning for Tennessee the title of the "Volunteer State." However, the enthusiasm with which Tennesseans greeted the outbreak of war is in striking contrast to their subsequent opinion of the conflict.

The war came about when President Polk resolved to force Mexico to sell territory, especially California, to the United States and, in exchange for the assumption of Mexican debts owed to United States citizens, to agree to the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas. He hoped that if war resulted Mexico would quickly sue for peace and make a settlement. He first sought to acquire these territories by peaceful negotiation; but when the Mexican government refused to negotiate, Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to occupy the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. The Mexicans came across the Rio Grande and attacked Taylor's troops and thus hostilities began. But no quick peace ensued. Tennesseans, believing that the conflict would be short and easy, and not knowing the President's secret territorial designs, did not understand his dilatory tactics which were calculated to encourage Mexico to yield to his demands. As a result the popularity of the war waned when it was not vigorously prosecuted to an early conclusion and when battle casualties and sickness took a heavy toll of Tennessee troops.

The strong state Whig party, the result of a revolt against the political dictatorship of Andrew Jackson, exploited the unpopular aspects of the war to attack President Polk and the Democrats and win control of the state government in the gubernatorial campaign of 1847. The highly partisan Whig and Democratic state press followed the progress of the war. Their defense and criticism of the prosecution of the war reflect the views which Tennesseans held of the conflict.

Although Mexico belligerently objected to Texan annexation, Tennesseans endorsed annexation in the gubernatorial election of 1845. Two

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*Read at a meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, January 8, 1954.

factors led them to feel that there would be no war with Mexico over Texas. First, they believed Mexico to be militarily weak because of political instability. Tennesseans' long background of hatred for the regime of Santa Anna, the Mexican leader during the Texan Revolution, led them joyously to greet his overthrow late in 1844 and to consider it a further indication of the Mexican government's inability to oppose annexation or to foment a war.[1] Secondly, Tennesseans felt that Great Britain and France would restrain Mexico from attacking the United States. Indeed, Tennesseans feared European designs on Mexico more than they feared Mexico herself. Early in 1846 a rumor that Great Britain and Spain were backing France in an effort to place a son of her king, Louis Phillipe, on a Mexican throne aroused fears.[2] In March, 1845, General J. N. Almonte, the Mexican minister to Washington, protested congressional passage of the Texas annexation resolution and left the country. However, no significant Tennessee reaction was evinced until the Mexican government presented a circular of protest to the governments of England, France, and Spain. At this time the Democratic Nashville *Union* advised Polk to post an ample military force in the Gulf of Mexico and declared that Nashville's "Texas Volunteers" were always ready for war duty.[3]

Because of Mexico's internal instability, the Whig Memphis *American Eagle* until as late as April 25, 1846, discounted rumors of war and derided government defense preparations as an excuse to spend money for patronage.[4] Its Democratic rival, the *Appeal,* also felt that Mexico posed no threat to American security. The paper contended that the danger of war lessened each day and that England and France, because of their territorial designs, would prevent any Mexican aggression.[5] The possibility of war with Mexico was further overshadowed by the threat of hostilities with Great Britain over Oregon early in 1846. So weak did Tennesseans consider Mexico that they evinced little fear that she might independently take advantage of a war between the United States and Great Britain to engage in hostilities to regain Texas.

Throughout these troubled months there continued to be discussion of the possibility of war with Mexico. On June 4, 1845, one month before Texas was formally annexed, Tennessee's famous Whig editor, W. G. (Parson) Brownlow, carried the following quip on the advertisement page

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[1]Jonesborough *Whig and Independent Journal,* January 22, 1845. Hereafter cited as Brownlow's *Whig.* Also see Memphis *Appeal,* January 21, July 8, 1845.

[2]Knoxville *Standard,* January 20, 1846; Memphis *Appeal,* May 16, July 26, 1845; January 31, 1846; Nashville *Union,* May 13, 1845. The *Union,* suspecting English influence, declared: "How does it happen that a government so weak that she has been utterly unable to reduce Texas, has suddenly become so powerful in her own estimation as to threaten the United States." *Ibid.,* May 8, 1845.

[3]*Ibid.,* April 20, 1845.

[4]Memphis *American Eagle,* April 25, 1846. Hereafter cited as Memphis *Eagle.*

[5]Memphis *Appeal,* August 12, 1845; Knoxville *Standard,* February 3, 1846.

of his Jonesborough *Whig and Independent Journal: "TEXICO AND MEXAS!* WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS!! Walk in! BLANKS for sale here!"[6] On August 21 the *Appeal* published a New Orleans *Bee* account that ten thousand Mexican troops were within eight days' march of the forces of General Taylor.[7] Brownlow got the story two weeks later, and in a separate article, headed "War With Mexico," stated that "The signs are a little that way [toward war] at present."[8] On September 4 the *Appeal* praised the Administration's preparations for war,[9] and the *Eagle* greeted the news of a skirmish between an American patrol and some Mexican troops in glowing terms—referring to it as "glory-beaming intelligence."[10] However, the war fever subsided when General Taylor advised that there was no immediate threat of war.

Late in 1845 President Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico to negotiate a settlement that would solve the boundary question and satisfy his territorial demands. On April 21 the Democratic Knoxville *Standard* carried a New Orleans *Delta* account that discussed Mexico's reasons for not receiving Slidell. Commenting on the story the Knoxville editor said:

> There are the usual number and variety of reports, of troops marching to and concentrating near the Rio Grande—we have heard them too often to be affrighted by them.[11]

But another aspect of the Slidell mission did bother Tennesseans. This was the rumor that Great Britain was influencing Mexico against receiving the American minister. Evidently Tennesseans expected the Mexicans to deal with Slidell. At any rate, they did not understand or respect the fact that forces within the Mexican government opposed and were insulted by the American territorial demands. This led Tennesseans to suspect foreign influence.[12]

News of the outbreak of hostilities was carried in the *Eagle* on May 7, 1846.[13] The East Tennessee papers had it by the twentieth. It was the Nashville *Union* that, in the light of subsequent developments, best reflected the reaction to the news of hostilities:

> If it had been accompanied with any intimations that our State would be called on for volunteers, we are satisfied from the feeling manifested that it would have met a prompt and enthusiastic response.[14]

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[6]Brownlow's *Whig*, June 4, 1845.
[7]Memphis *Appeal*, August 21, 1845.
[8]Brownlow's *Whig*, September 3, 1845.
[9]Memphis *Appeal*, September 4, 1845.
[10]Memphis *Eagle*, September 19, 1845.
[11]Knoxville *Standard*, April 21, 1846.
[12]*Ibid.*, January 20, February 3, April 28, 1846; Nashville *Republican Banner*, January 19, 1846.
[13]Memphis *Eagle*, May 7, 1846.
[14]Nashville *Union*, May 12, 1846.

With Mexico pictured as a ruthless invader, President Polk's message recommending war and Congress' authorization for its prosecution met wholehearted approval in Tennessee. Democrats and Whigs promoted war preparations, although the latter did not fail to blame the Administration for events leading to the outbreak of hostilities. Even the partisan Brownlow commended Congress for promptly enacting legislation for its prosecution and stated that "whether a just or unjust war, it is the duty of all good citizens and patriots, to engage heartily, in the defense of their country."[15] That partisan Whigs were not conscience-stricken over fighting "weak" Mexico is revealed in this statement:

> Both Texas and the United States have endured much at her [Mexico's] hands. —No one of the great powers of the earth, amidst such wrongs, would have shown such forbearance.[16]

In Tennessee the outbreak of hostilities resulted in an unprecedented wave of volunteering. Reporting an early company organizing meeting at Memphis, the *Appeal* said: "Apportion them as he [the Governor] will, there will be drafting to decide who shall be *allowed* to go."[17] And the Nashville *Union,* noting the apportionment of troop quotas throughout the state, observed that "The singular process has been witnessed of *drafting* men *out* of service instead of the *drafting* them *into* service."[18]

The *Union* reported a May 9 meeting of the "Nashville Blues" in which they adopted resolutions tendering their services to Governor Aaron V. Brown "in the event an opportunity should be offered for enlisting volunteers to repel Mexican invasion." It stated that thousands stood ready to drive back the "perfidious invader,"—that they were willing to enter the enemy's country to chastise him.[19] At Memphis the *Eagle* reported the organizing of companies under Captains M. B. Cook and E. F. Ruth, who were unwilling to wait for a special call before beginning such activities.[20] Also, there was a meeting to consider the call of General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, the eccentric commander of the Western Geographical Division of the army, for volunteers. Five hundred citizens reportedly attended the meeting. Commenting on Gaines' call, the *Eagle* said:

> All that is now wanting to set us in a perfect blaze, is a call from the Governor, and we fear that when it does come the quota at this place will be so small, that many a gallant spirit will find himself closed out—Middle and East Tenn. will claim their full proportions of 2400, and will rally ten times that number, eager to march to the

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[15]Brownlow's *Whig,* May 20, 27, 1846. A similar view was expressed by the Knoxville *Standard,* May 19, 1846.
[16]Brownlow's *Whig,* May 27, 1846; Nashville *Republican Banner,* May 18, 1846.
[17]Memphis *Appeal,* May 14, 1846.
[18]Knoxville *Standard,* June 9, 1846, citing Nashville *Union.*
[19]Nashville *Union,* May 12, 1846.
[20]Memphis *Eagle,* May 15, 1846.

> field of battle—their prowess and spirit is unquenchable—and, mark it, when they are heard from, it will be as a rushing of the mountain torrents.[21]

The *Standard* reported hearing that several counties in East Tennessee were engaged in raising companies and that they "will no doubt be successful wherever the attempt is made." In the same issue the paper reported that First Lieutenant Samuel W. Bell had issued a call to the "Knoxville Dragoons."[22]

Other volunteering activity was reported. On May 19 the *Union* reported that, in addition to the "Harrison Guards" and "Texas Volunteers" of Nashville, the following companies had notified the Governor that they were ready for duty: the "Tenth Legion" and "Clay Guards," of Gallatin; "Lincoln Guards," of Lincoln County; "Cedar Snags," of Wilson County; "Texas Volunteers," of Franklin; and the "First Legion," of Columbia, along with others. Later came reports of companies from Hickman, Lawrence, and Smith counties and Shelbyville. At Jackson a company of Irishman formed the "Jackson Greens" under the leadership of William Dunne. A German company also was formed in West Tennessee. Following a call to East Tennessee for four companies of infantry and three of cavalry, the *Standard,* on June 2, announced that fifteen or twenty companies will report "this week." The day before, the Nashville *Republican Banner* reported that between seventy and eighty companies numbering more than six thousand men had offered their services to the Governor.[23]

The result of such avid volunteering was inevitable. So many companies were organized that contention arose over their priority. Indeed, a story from the *Standard* told of how this problem was solved in East Tennessee by drawing names from a hat.[24] Following Governor Brown's call for 2,800 volunteers, the *Eagle,* ever ready to exploit the war for political purposes, mirrored the anxiety of West Tennesseans for action when it criticized Governor Brown for not encouraging the organization of volunteer companies sooner—by this time they could have been on the Rio Grande.[25]

Apparently there were few examples of opposition to the preparations for war, and what criticisms there were seemingly rose out of partisan political arguments. Brownlow, reporting the failure of a meeting at Jonesborough to raise a company for Washington County, denied a Democratic charge that it failed because it was placed on a party basis. He replied

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[21]*Ibid.*, May 16, 1846.
[22]Knoxville *Standard,* May 26, 1846.
[23]Nashville *Union,* May 19, 1846; Knoxville *Standard,* June 2, 9, 1846; Memphis *Appeal,* May 19, 1846; Memphis *Eagle,* May 22, 1846; Nashville *Republican Banner,* June 1, 1846.
[24]Knoxville *Standard,* July 14, 1846.
[25]Memphis *Eagle,* June 12, 1846.

tauntingly that Democrats could not be swayed by party influence: "To be serious, gentlemen, don't pretend that the Whigs prevented your party from volunteering. When did the Whigs acquire such influence over your party?"[26]

The Democratic press, in order to discredit southern Whigs, pointed out that northern Whigs opposed the war and were branding the United States an aggressor. They were laboring to "damp the ardor" of the volunteers, they said. The *Standard* carried a letter from a person in Jefferson County which claimed that there were some Whigs who were not in favor of Texas and the war. He went on to tell of the views of what he claimed to be a Whig:

> I had hoped that we had none such in patriotic Tennessee; but I have been mistaken. How many we have thus destitute of principle, I am not able to say, but certain [*sic*] we have some, and rabid ones too,—one declared in conversation with me the other day, that he did not believe an inch of Texas legally belonged to the United States—that the annexation of Texas was got up proposely [*sic*] to knock up a difference between us and Mexico—. . . that our army were the invaders—that if we persisted in the prosecution of the war . . . he would enlist under their [Mexico's] banner and help whip them [United States' army] out.[27]

But Tennessee Whigs denied such charges. Indeed, they boastfully claimed to be supplying more volunteers than the Democrats. Brownlow hurled this charge at the "Polk, Dallas and Texas" crowd: "Come, Democrats don't be behind the Whigs in defen[d]ing the lives of your countrymen, and the honor of your country."[28]

Tennessee's volunteers rendezvoused at Memphis where they boarded boats for the trip down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. Some treked across the state. Their journey was marked by rousing celebrations at towns through which they passed. A soldier in Captain William R. Caswell's Knoxville company, which marched across the state, wrote of their reception at Pulaski: "A general ransacking of cellars took place, and the 'generous wine' was dragged forth to destruction. Abundance of mea[t] and drink was set before us."

Further describing the approbation their crusade received, he said:

> The people here [Pulaski] are whole-souled, thorough-going men. They met us as brethren, as friends, and assured us that fires were kindled on the watch-towers of Tennessee to guide our foot-steps through the desert wilds and wilderness of Mexico.[29]

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[26]Brownlow's *Whig*, June 3, 1846.
[27]Knoxville *Standard*, July 7, 1846.
[28]Brownlow's *Whig*, May 27, 1846.
[29]According to the letter, similar celebrations were held at Lewisburg and Cornersville. Knoxville *Standard*, July 7, 1846.

Others travelled to the West Tennessee port of embarkation by river boat. Their departures were significantly observed. At Nashville, crowds gathered at the wharf to see the first departure of troops—the "Blues" and "Harrison Guards" and also the "Tenth Legion," of Sumner County—by boat. A flag was presented to them by the Nashville Female Academy.[30] Flag presentation ceremonies were held for many companies as they completed their organization.

War with Mexico did not cause Tennesseans to forget the possibility of hostilities with Great Britain over Oregon, especially during the early stages of the war. Indeed, the *Union* interpreted the patriotic spirit of Tennesseans in volunteering for the war with Mexico as a warning to the English.[31] A rumor in some Southern newspapers that British troops had landed in Canada led the *Standard,* on June 9, to comment that if a call for volunteers had come at the time, five thousand men could have been raised in East Tennessee in five days.[32]

Earlier it was mentioned that political dissention in Mexico led Tennesseans to believe that Mexico was weak and that war with her was not imminent. Following the outbreak of hostilities this feeling shifted to a belief that the war would be short. This was especially true after England announced that she would not interfere in the conflict, and the United States, on June 18, ratified the treaty providing for the partition of Oregon. A *Standard* reprint from the Washington *Union* expressed the belief that the war would be speedily terminated and that only half of the original requisition of troops would be called.[33] Correspondence from an observer in Washington further predicted that Mexican President Mariano Paredes would shortly be overthrown and that Tennessee soldiers would not be needed. However, he was quick to observe that it was good to know that they would be available in case of a future war with any "strong power."[34] Early in August the *Standard* carried this confident and boastful statement:

> The latest news which we have here is, that Gen. Taylor is only waiting for the Cavalry from Kentucky and Tennessee to arrive before he invades Mexico—takes the Capitol—plants the Stars and Stripes upon the ramparts of the city—and then dictate [*sic*] peace upon *our* terms.[35]

Not all Tennesseans were so optimistic. At Nashville the *Republican Banner* enumerated the practical hardships—the war was being fought in enemy country which was unfamiliar to Americans.[36] And the *Eagle,* late in Sep-

[30]Nashville *Union,* June 6, 1846.
[31]*Ibid.,* June 4, 1846.
[32]Knoxville *Standard,* June 9, 1846.
[33]*Ibid.,* May 26, 1846.
[34]*Ibid.,* June 16, 1846.
[35]*Ibid.,* August 4, 1846; Memphis *Eagle,* June 2, 1846.
[36]Nashville *Republican Banner,* May 27, 1846.

tember, expressed concern over American troops marching on Monterey.[37]

During the period of inactivity following Taylor's initial victories at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, Tennessee newspapers began to reflect rising discontent with the lax prosecution of hostilities.[38] But it was not until General Taylor agreed to an eight-weeks' armistice following the Battle of Monterey that serious dissatisfaction appeared. Tennesseans were not happy when again long-delayed hostilities were stalled. Both Whig and Democratic papers reflected this dissatisfaction by demanding more vigorous prosecution of the war. Even the explanation that Taylor was forced to grant the armistice for lack of men and materiel did not satisfy them.[39] Why did General Taylor not have supplies? The Whig press answered this question by accusing the Administration of negligence and went on to point out rising dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war. The *Eagle* recalled that the general-in-chief of the army, Winfield Scott, had been ridiculed by the Administration early in the conflict when he advised more adequate preparation for the Mexican campaign.[40] The *Republican Banner* added that everywhere people were dissatisfied with the Administration's conduct of the war.[41] Even the Democratic press acknowledged the existence of discontent by defending the President against certain letter writers who complained that he was not promoting hostilities.[42]

Striking testimony to the desire for pushing the war was evidenced when the resumption of hostilities following Monterey led to a new call for troops. Why, it was asked, had the President jeopardized the war effort by waiting so late to call more volunteers. It was reiterated that many volunteers were refused earlier when Taylor needed troops.[43] Although these charges came from Whig organs, they reflect the readiness of Tennesseans to do all that was necessary to fight the war vigorously to a successful end.

The prosecution of the war became the leading issue in the Tennessee gubernatorial campaign of 1847 between the Browns of Pulaski—Democratic incumbent Aaron V. Brown, a close friend of President Polk, and the Whig nominee, Neill S. Brown.[44] The Democratic candidate attempted to

[37]Memphis *Eagle*, September 29, 1846.

[38]Nashville *Union*, September 8, 1846.

[39]*Ibid.*, October 24, 1846; Memphis *Eagle*, October 26, 1846. The *Union* urged vigorous prosecution of hostilities at this time, feeling that Santa Anna was merely playing for time. Nashville *Union*, October 6, 1846.

[40]Memphis *Eagle*, November 14, 1846.

[41]Nashville *Republican Banner*, November 20, 1846.

[42]Knoxville *Standard*, November 24, 1846.

[43]Memphis *Eagle*, November 28, 1846; January 15, 1847; Nashville *Republican Banner*, November 25, 1846.

[44]Describing the gubernatorial canvass in East Tennessee, the *Standard* said: "It was not to hear a discussion of the old issues of Bank, Tariff and Distribution.—These had lost nearly all their interest. It was the Mexican war that absorbed all other subjects. Its origin—its justice—its constitutionality—whether it was a war of necessary self-defence on our part, or one of aggression and plunder against a weak and innocent nation—were all questions of the deepest solicitude [sic] . . . ." Knoxville *Standard*, June 1, 1847.

defend Polk and the Administration's conduct of the war. But several of Polk's actions roused the ire of Tennesseans, and Neill Brown and the Whigs exploited them to win the election. Believing that Santa Anna, the former Mexican president living in exile in Cuba, favored a settlement with the United States, Polk allowed him to pass the American naval blockade at Vera Cruz in August, 1846, and return to Mexico. With the pronounced evidence of discontent over the dilatory prosecution of the war, it is easy to picture the reaction of Tennesseans to the return of the hated Santa Anna, especially when he refused to conclude the peace that had been rumored. When the hope of a settlement vanished, Neill Brown and Tennessee Whigs accused Polk of betraying the nation by allowing the Mexican general to regain power and direct Mexican resistance. Brownlow did not overlook the opportunity to point out that the Mexican leader, following the armistice, purportedly was raising an army of thirty thousand men to march against the American forces.[45] In Nashville, on April 4, 1847, Neill Brown claimed that American blood was spilled at Buena Vista because the Mexican general was allowed to return.[46]

Related to Polk's effort to acquire a peace by allowing Santa Anna to return was his request in August, 1846, for two million dollars to be used in negotiating a boundary settlement between the two countries. Neill Brown and the Whigs charged that this was a move to purchase a peace. Such a move, it was claimed, disavowed the purpose of the conflict and made the nation appear to be fighting a dishonorable war of conquest. This charge also was applied to Polk's request for three million dollars in January, 1847. Speaking at Springfield, the Whig nominee reportedly described the latter bill as an effort to bribe Mexican soldiers—"to buy a peace!" Ridiculing Polk and the Democrats, he said:

> Why, you said you could conquer that! I am for millions, so far as necessary to prosecute the *war;* but not for a single dollar, not a cent, for the purpose of base bribery.[47]

Serious discussion of the issue of war responsibility did not appear until late in 1846 and in the months prior to the gubernatorial campaign.

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[45]Brownlow's *Whig,* November 25, 1846; Memphis *Eagle,* January 19, 1847.

[46]Nashville *Republican Banner,* April 7, 1847.

[47]Brownlow's *Whig,* July 7, 1847, citing the Nashville *Republican Banner.* Examples of the malicious attacks on Polk regarding his request for $2,000,000 and the return of Santa Anna are the following excerpts from the Memphis *Eagle:* "Was it not most disgraceful and degrading to our country, that its president should ask for *two millions* to bribe this expatriated tyrant and enable him to go home and turn traitor to his country?," November 6, 1846. Three days later this outburst appeared: "And what must the whole world think of *American chivalry,* when its President attempts to conquer a weak and pusillanimous nation, by bribing one of its expatriated monster-tyrants, whom she had driven from her soil on account of his inhuman and execrable barbarities and thirst for human gore, and aiding him to return home, and with *two millions of American money,* to betray his country . . . !", November 9, 1846.

It was stressed at this time because of popular objection to the conduct of the war. Indications are that at the outbreak of hostilities Tennesseans, as a whole, neither objected to the war nor questioned the constitutionality of Polk's action in bringing it about. Early Whig objection was limited merely to demands for more vigorous prosecution of the conflict and to pointing out that Henry Clay's prediction of war with annexation had come true.

Early in the canvass, at Franklin, Neill Brown questioned the constitutionality of Polk's ordering troops from Corpus Christi, on the Nueces, to the Rio Grande. The President, he said, had no right to send American forces into an area which did not belong to the United States. And he brought the accusation that it was a predetermined executive action calculated to involve the nation in a war without the consent of Congress.[48] The Whig candidate repeated these charges at Knoxville and Maryville. At the latter town, according to the *Standard,* the object of his speech was

> to show that the war was an error of the President—that he had erred in the first instance when he ordered the troops from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande—that he has erred in the prosecution of the war.[49]

But probably more meaningful to Tennesseans was Governor Brown's reply that Santa Anna, following the Battle of San Jacinto, agreed to the Rio Grande as the Texas boundary. Since this was the boundary claimed by Texas when she entered the Union, the President was obligated to defend it as an American border, he argued.[50] Undoubtedly this was an acceptable view to Tennesseans since they had played such a significant role in the Texan War. The Governor reiterated this argument throughout the canvass.

Another of Polk's actions which angered Tennesseans was his departure from the custom of allowing volunteer companies to select their leaders. Instead, he appointed Democratic friends to many of these positions. This aroused considerable resentment and led to charges of patronage from the Whigs—that he was seeking to allow Democrats to acquire honor and glory from the war to better their chances for political preferment. Also, there were complaints that Polk had especially wronged certain dominantly Whig companies by naming Democrats to lead them. Polk's action led Brownlow, in September, 1846, to claim that

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[48]Nashville *Union,* April 14, 1847.

[49]Knoxville *Standard,* May 4, 1847. Also see Nashville *Union,* May 13, 1847.

[50]Knoxville *Standard,* May 4, June 1, 1847. "It is unfortunate that there is the slightest difference of opinion on this great question of war.— . . . There was no cause for the slightest difference of opinion, and nothing but a deep rooted hatred to Mr. Polk could have induced men to denounce the war." *Ibid.,* July 20, 1847.

> The like never was heard of before, in this or any other country. And why? Because a highminded and honorable man, would scorn, knowingly to exercise a power not delegated to him, at least by custom.[51]

Later, during the canvass at Jackson, Neill Brown discussed Polk's favoritism toward General William O. Butler, a military appointee.[52] The nature of this attack is revealed in an earlier discussion of the issue by the *Eagle* which condemned Polk for giving Butler a command independent from General Taylor:

> Already is Gen. Butler's command pronounced to be *independent* of Gen. Taylor's, and the disposition assigned Gen. Butler's such as to afford him the most favorable position to *win laurels*.[53]

When the war showed signs of continuing indefinitely, its expense began to be more seriously considered. The *Banner* claimed that the Democratic press was attempting to suppress this fact by appealing to the idealistic and patriotic spirit of the people.[54] In November, 1846, articles appeared referring to the increase in the national debt. Frequently reprinted from other papers and exploited by the Whigs was a prediction that the national debt would be $120,000,000 in another year.[55] East Tennesseans were especially interested in the way the war affected the domestic situation. Brownlow reported that at Newport Neill Brown compared present conditions with those two years before, pointing out that the increased national debt might have been avoided and that the war might have been averted by a purchase of the disputed territory. The Whig editor stated that this discussion made a distinct impression on the audience.[56] Governor Brown countered the economic arguments of his opponent by stating that Tennesseans did not worry about expense when the country was invaded and the national honor questioned. Also, he claimed that, for the sake of the soldier dead, the war should not be branded as unjust.[57] Such references led Brownlow to ask:

> . . . if the people are in favor of it, and it is a popular war, as the orators of Locofocoism contend—why do they twist, and screw, and shift and lie so, in reference to the expenses of the war?[58]

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[51]Brownlow's *Whig*, September 9, 1846. The same idea had been stated by the Memphis *Eagle*, July 11, 1846.

[52]*Ibid.*, June 30, 1847, July 15, 22, 1846.

[53]*Ibid.*, September 19, 1846.

[54]Nashville *Republican Banner*, August 28, 1846.

[55]Brownlow's *Whig*, November 11, 25, 1846, July 7, 1847. The *Eagle* also played up the expense of the war: "Sixty-one Millions were appropriated at the recent session of Congress, and nearly an equal sum will be required to 'conquer a peace' with Mexico. What shall we get for our money? Honor cannot be derived from conquering a weak country like Mexico. We shall get nothing but the privilege of additional taxation and paying for it." Memphis *Eagle*, September 8, 1846; also see September 10, 1847.

[56]Brownlow's *Whig*, May 12, 1847.

[57]Knoxville *Standard*, May 11, 18, 1847.

[58]Brownlow's *Whig*, July 7, 1847.

President Polk was forced to conduct the war with Whig generals—a politically dangerous expedient in that it allowed them to build reputations that could be used to promote their political ambitions. This became especially apparent as the war progressed and General Zachary Taylor was boomed for the Whig presidential nomination in the coming national convention of 1848. His military accomplishments were glorified by the Tennessee Whig press. Early in the conflict Polk attempted to get a bill through Congress authorizing the appointment of two major generals. It was denounced and defeated as a move to supercede Whig generals.[59] An effort to create the position of lieutenant general had a similar fate. As a result, Polk was accused of playing party politics at the expense of the prosecution of the war. The Democratic press reflected Taylor's popularity by strongly denying such charges; to the contrary, they insisted, Polk raised Taylor from colonel to brevet brigadier general.[60]

Campaign meetings at Murfreesboro and other towns in Middle Tennessee raised objections to Polk's interference with General Taylor and asserted that this interference was hindering the war. In addition to charging Polk with attempting to supercede Taylor, Neill Brown argued that the Administration made the General's task difficult by forcing him to have to fight Santa Anna.[61] Apparently he had in mind the narrow American victory at Buena Vista. Governor Brown even capitalized on the General's popularity by claiming that Polk had not ordered the troops to the Rio Grande until after Taylor had advised him to do so.[62] At Athens the Governor paid tribute to the sterling leadership of the General, asserting that he was ably serving the Administration.[63] Neill Brown denounced such remarks as an attempt to make Taylor the scapegoat for the beginning of hostilities.[64]

Late in the campaign the Whig Memphis *Enquirer,* probably repeating Neill Brown's charges, criticised the Administration both for failing to enable General Taylor to follow up his initial victories on the Rio Grande and for accusing the General of bad leadership for not doing so.[65] It will be remembered that Taylor was censured for granting an armistice following the Battle of Monterey and for his questionable tactics at the Battle of Buena Vista. Also indicative of state admiration of Taylor was Neill Brown's advocacy of him as the Whig nominee for president. The Governor and the Democrats admitted the General's popularity with the voters when they

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[59]Memphis *Eagle,* June 29, 1846, January 19, 1847; Nashville *Republican Banner,* January 27, 1847; Brownlow's *Whig,* June 10, 1846.

[60]Knoxville *Standard,* March 9, 1847; Nashville *Republican Banner,* April 12, 1847; Brownlow's *Whig,* June 10, 1846.

[61]Nashville *Republican Banner,* May 7, 1847.

[62]Brownlow's *Whig,* April 28, 1847.

[63]Nashville *Union,* May 4, 1847.

[64]*Ibid.,* May 10, 1847; Brownlow's *Whig,* April 28, 1847.

[65]Memphis *Eagle,* July 9, 1847.

accused Neill Brown of attempting to "ride" the General to victory—that he was championing Taylor in order to win the race for governor.[66]

Tennesseans did not share the expansionist ambitions of the North and free West for the annexation of all Mexico. They considered territorial acquisition only in terms of territorial indemnity—what the Mexican government owed United States' citizens through arbitration awards prior to the war and the expense of the conflict itself. Probably one reason why Tennesseans did not advocate extensive expansion was their fear that slavery could not flourish in Catholic Mexico, which, if annexed, would constitute potential free states that would swing the balance of political power to the North. Also, Mexico was geographically unlike the United States and was inhabited by an alien people.

From the advent of hostilities Tennesseans expected the acquisition of some Mexican territory, especially California. The *Union* acknowledged this expectation when it heralded the presidential administration of Polk:

> . . . Mr. Polk's administration promises to be the most eventful one during the present century. Texas is probably fully in the Union—Oregon will certainly be ours, and our laws will soon be extended to the Pacific—and last, though not least, the signs are that California too will soon form a part of our glorious republic![67]

Shortly after the war began the *Appeal* suspiciously opined that "The volunteers are raised for the invasion of Mexico, of this we are assured."[68] At Jackson, Lieutenant Thomas Ewell raised a company to join Colonel John C. Fremont's command in California.[69]

On May 28, 1846, the *Union* proposed that enough land be "embraced" from Mexico to settle "old scores" and that California be allowed to annex herself to the Union. At the same time the paper called for vigorous prosecution of the war to achieve these goals.[70] The day before, the *Republican Banner,* also urging the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, admitted:

> . . . but we are satisfied that public opinion demands that hostilities should not be of a merely defensive character, and that all means should be forthwith employed—even to the seizing of portions of the Mexican territory, and overrunning others—in order to put a speedy end to the contest.[71]

At Knoxville the *Standard* of May 26 stated that the conflict should not be merely defensive on the part of the United States—peace should not be

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[66]Nashville *Union,* April 20, 27, 1847; Knoxville *Standard,* May 4, 1847; also see Brownlow's *Whig,* April 28, 1847.
[67]Knoxville *Standard,* January 6, 1846, citing the Nashville *Union.*
[68]Memphis *Appeal,* June 12, 1846.
[69]Memphis *Eagle,* June 30, 1846.
[70]Nashville *Union,* May 28, 1846.
[71]Nashville *Banner,* May 27, 1846.

accepted without payment for injuries and insults.[72] Three weeks later it reiterated this opinion, urging that American forces drive into Mexico and make a settlement that would provide a permanent peace and reparations for the past.[73] In August, feeling that the Administration was seeking a peace that would involve a cession of territory to the United States, the *Union* declared:

> We have no idea that the President has any desire to prosecute the war a day longer than it shall be necessary to secure an honorable peace and full indemnity for all injuries—he will not hesitate to listen to honest propositions for peace, but at the same time he will take no steps for suspending the war, until such terms are actually proposed as may be satisfactory.[74]

And commenting on the President's request for the two million dollar appropriation, the *Eagle* said:

> We think it a fair inference from the tone of the message that some overtures have been received from Mexico.—Possibly we are to get Upper California, and pay the amount of the appropriation asked, and assume the debt due from Mexico to our citizens.[75]

Late in 1846 it was announced that governments had been established for the conquered provinces of New Mexico and California. Brownlow, in his *Whig,* immediately claimed that people were indignant over the proclaiming of the "fundamental law" for these conquered areas and the giving of rights to "half-civilized Mexicans."[76] The *Union* voiced a similar view. Commenting on northern agitation to incorporate all of Mexico into the United States, it claimed that Mexico was not ready "for the enjoyment of national freedom under our system of government."[77]

Evidently there were no serious demands in Tennessee for additional Mexican territory as the war lengthened. Election meetings prior to and during the gubernatorial canvass reflect only a continued demand for "ample indemnity" for "our just claims" and the recognition of the United States' claim to the disputed area between the Rio Grande and the Nueces.[78] Even late in the war Democratic campaign meetings were still demanding only territorial indemnity. A group in Bradley County resolved:

> . . . it is therefore the opinion of this meeting that, in any treaty which may be made between the two governments, the President

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[72]Knoxville *Standard,* May 26, 1846.
[73]*Ibid.,* June 16, 1846.
[74]Nashville *Union,* August 18, 1846.
[75]Memphis *Eagle,* August 22, 1846.
[76]Brownlow's *Whig,* January 6, 1847.
[77]Nashville *Union,* October 23, 1846.
[78]*Ibid.,* March 11, 1847.

> of the United States ought to demand of and receive from, Mexico *territorial* indemnity: and that he ought, at all hazards, to retain the Californias.[79]

However, as revealed in the preceding quotation, some Tennesseans demanded Lower as well as Upper California. Apparently they felt that this sparsely populated area, isolated from Mexico proper, could become slave territory. However, the demand for Lower California apparently was not manifested until late in the war when expansionist sentiment was rampant in New York and the free West. Even in December, 1847, the *Union* remarked that "no considerable body of men in the country advocate the annexation of any portion of Mexico, except Upper California and New Mexico."[80]

Mexico's stubborn and unreasonable resistance made the war more costly and difficult than Tennesseans had anticipated. Belatedly, they realized that, unlike the Texan conflict and Tennesseans' limited campaigns against the British and Indians in 1813-1814, this was a full-scale war that called for the costly invasion of a foreign country where the enemy stubbornly defended his homeland. When Mexico refused to surrender following the American victories at Buena Vista and Vera Cruz, stories began to appear which reflect growing concern over the Administration's failure to bring the war to a close. Early in May, 1847, Brownlow observed that his exchange papers expressed a longing for the ending of the war.[81]

Reports of peace negotiations stimulated hopes and demands for ending the conflict. The *Union* saw fit to reprint an article on peace from the *Washington Union*, "Believing that no other subject possesses greater interest with our readers at this time . . . ."[82] Late in September the *Eagle* said that many people were asking the paper if there was any possibility for a settlement.[83] In January, 1848, the *Union* reported that people were inquiring every day when a peace would be concluded.[84] Following the signing of the treaty in February, the *Eagle* predicted that peace would be made immediately because the country was tired of war.[85] Even the *Union* later indicated such feeling when it expressed concern over Mexico's slowness in ratifying the peace treaty.[86]

Sickness took a heavy toll of Tennesseans engaged in the war and contributed to the state's war-weariness. Dysentery, measles, and fevers took hundreds of American lives, especially during the early stages of the

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[79] *Ibid.*, December 28, 1847.
[80] *Ibid.*, December 10, 1847.
[81] Brownlow's *Whig*, May 5, February 3, 1847.
[82] Nashville *Union*, September 2, 1847.
[83] Memphis *Eagle*, September 24, 1847.
[84] Nashville *Union*, January 18, 1848.
[85] Memphis *Eagle*, March 15, 1848.
[86] Nashville *Union*, March 30, 1848.

conflict when troops were stationed in the low-lying coastal areas. Crude sanitation and contaminated water also contributed to this. By August the First Tennessee Regiment of 1,040 men was reduced to less than half that number because of illness. About one hundred died and three hundred others were discharged because they were too sick to fight.[87]

In July, 1846, the *Standard* reprinted an account from the New Orleans *Delta* which discussed the health of the army. It noted that measles had appeared among the troops.[88] Reflecting the concern of the people, the Knoxville paper in September predicted that in the coming election the Whigs would capitalize on army hardships as evidenced by sickness among the volunteers.[89] On October 1 the *Union* published a letter from Colonel S. R. Anderson which told of sickness at Camargo.[90] The *Standard* got the news from the New Orleans *Delta* which reported that six hundred soldiers were ill and that many Tennesseans were included in the number.[91] Indicative of Tennessee concern was a movement in Nashville to care for returning sick and destitute volunteers.[92]

True to the *Standard's* prediction, illness among the troops was a topic of discussion in the gubernatorial canvass, indicating that Tennesseans questioned the care of their sons and husbands. An account of the meeting at Trenton reported that Governor Brown was only able pathetically to regret this hardship, and that he became very angry over the Whig candidate's reply in which the latter apparently blamed Polk and the Democratic Administration for troop illness.[93] Even late in the war the *Republican Banner* reflected continued concern when it urged the speedy return of the volunteers before summer diseases set in.[94]

Severe battle casualties among Tennessee's volunteers created even more concern back home. Unlike the practice of modern warfare, each state fought as a unit. When one of these units bore the brunt of a battle or attack, it often suffered unusually heavy casualties. On several occasions this happened to Tennessee units. The state's first significant casualties were incurred at Monterey. In that encounter Colonel William B. Campbell's First Tennessee Regiment suffered severe losses. When news of the casualties finally came in October, the *Eagle* expressed sorrow over the large number of killed and wounded.[95] The *Republican Banner,* in reporting a Nashville meeting to honor Tennesseans killed in the engagement, said: "The

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[87]Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Mexican War* (New York, 1950), 139.
[88]Knoxville *Standard,* July 14, 1846.
[89]*Ibid.,* September 15, 1846.
[90]Nashville *Union,* October 1, 1846.
[91]Knoxville *Standard,* October 6, 1846.
[92]Nashville *Union,* October 10, 1846.
[93]Nashville *Republican Banner,* July 7, 1847.
[94]*Ibid.,* March 6, 1848.
[95]Memphis *Eagle,* October 29, 1846.

meeting was numerously attended—thus showing, to some extent, the feeling and sympathy which pervades every heart."[96]

Late in 1846 there was another call for volunteers. Significantly, Brownlow challenged the request by stating that Secretary of War William L. Marcy had declared that no more soldiers would be needed for the war. Said Brownlow: "More precious lives are to be lost!" In the same issue of the paper, noting the recent Whig election victories in the East, he asked Tennesseans this question: "Would you reject [Henry] Clay and go for annexation again?"[97] At Nashville the *Republican Banner* made a similar observation regarding the new call for troops and was immediately criticised by its Democratic neighbor the *Union*.[98] Apparently the drain on Tennessee manpower was beginning to tell.

The account of the funeral of William B. Allen, a Lawrence County volunteer killed at Monterey, is revealing. The body of the soldier had been returned home for burial. According to the account, about one thousand persons attended the funeral, many of whom, nine months before, had been on hand to see him depart for the war. Two volunteers, each of whom had lost an arm at Monterey, were there: "We have never attended any funeral where there was such general and deep sorrow depicted in the countenances of the spectators."[99]

Early in May, 1847, the *Eagle* carried the news of the American victory at Cerro Gordo—and the deaths of Lieutenant Fred B. Nelson and a Lieutenant Gill of Memphis.[100] The heavy casualties suffered by Colonel William T. Haskell's regiment in this engagement set off a bitter controversy which reveals the concern in Tennessee over losses in battle. The regiment was a part of General Gideon J. Pillow's command. This officer had been appointed by President Polk. Following the battle a number of officers, including Haskell, accused Pillow of bad leadership during the engagement. The Whig press immediately took up the cry, publishing the testimony of Haskell (who was a Whig) and others who questioned Pillow's actions. The *Eagle* blamed the General for the "terrible carnage" among the Tennessee boys.[101] Brownlow printed the report of the seventeen Tennessee officers (Whigs and Democrats, he claimed) against General Pillow, who, in the report, was charged with mismanagement and cowardice.[102] Late in June the Whig editor, commenting on the heavy casualties, noted that at that time only 350 of the one thousand men from Campbell's regiment had returned

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[96]Nashville *Republican Banner*, October 28, 1846.
[97]Brownlow's *Whig*, November 25, 1846.
[98]Nashville *Union*, November 26, 1846.
[99]Knoxville *Standard*, April 6, 1847, citing the Lawrenceburg *Times*, March 18, 1847.
[100]Memphis *Eagle*, May 5, 1847.
[101]*Ibid.*, June 7, 1847.
[102]Brownlow's *Whig*, June 16, 1847.

and that only 360 of Haskell's command had arrived back in Tennessee.[103] In September Brownlow stated that high casualties at Mexico City had led many people to realize that the war was not what it was "cracked up" to be, and he noted the reluctance of men to volunteer for a company which Washington County was raising at that time.[104]

Even before this there had appeared a reluctance on the part of Tennesseans to volunteer for war duty, indicating that subsequent calls for volunteers were not greeted with the original enthusiasm. Early in 1847 men were urged to fill companies, and the $100 in script and 160 acres of land, granted to volunteers, was significantly mentioned as an inducement.[105] In September the *Appeal* claimed that the two regiments requested from the state at that time would be promptly supplied, despite the "unpopularity of the war"—a slur at the Whigs.[106] The eventual filling of new companies in August and September prompted the paper, with overweening confidence, to boast that there had been no hesitancy among Tennesseans to answer the new call for troops.[107] At this time the *Standard* reflected some concern—although it was confident that the new requisitions would be met.[108]

Reaction to and opinion of the peace negotiations are limited. The papers did little more than reprint the peace proposals and negotiations from out-of-state news organs. This neglect resulted from long expectation of the territorial cessions and disgust with the war. Eventual Mexican acceptance of the treaty proposals was a foregone conclusion. Also, pre-convention presidential nomination struggles now absorbed public attention.

Peace was expected when it was known that Scott was approaching Mexico City. It was felt that Nicholas P. Trist, Polk's peace commissioner, would now be able to reach a settlement with the Mexicans. Late in September the *Eagle* observed that he had received three sets of instructions and that with this apparent leeway he might be able to reach a settlement.[109] But as negotiations dragged on into December, the paper reflected growing discouragement, expressing a belief that the Mexicans were still "loyal" to their government and that they were determined not to yield to American demands.[110] Because they expected nothing to come from the peace efforts, Tennessee newspapers devoted little attention to subsequent negotiations.

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[103]*Ibid.*, June 30, 1847.
[104]*Ibid.*, September 22, 29, 1847.
[105]Memphis *Appeal*, February 26, 1847. Brownlow stated that the war might drag on until a draft became necessary. Brownlow's *Whig*, April 7, 1847.
[106]Memphis *Appeal*, September 8, 1847.
[107]*Ibid.*
[108]Knoxville *Standard*, September 14, 1847. In November, Brownlow denounced Greene County for not supplying its quota. Also, he claimed that several old companies in Washington County failed to report. Brownlow's *Whig*, November 24, 1847.
[109]Memphis *Eagle*, September 28, 1847.
[110]*Ibid.*, December 3, 1847.

Late in February, 1848, when it was announced that a peace had been signed, the *Eagle* confessed that too little public attention had been given to the treaty negotiations.[111]

The signing of the treaty evoked little comment. The *Appeal* did discuss it with seeming approval.[112] The news came to Knoxville late in February but there was no significant reaction.[113] In reporting the final ratification proceedings in the United States Senate, Brownlow merely commented that "We think it likely that a treaty of peace has been effected."[114] Upon ratification by the United States, the Memphis papers merely reported the accomplishment of the act.[115]

Thus by the time the Mexican government ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on May 25, 1848, the war was a worn out issue in Tennessee. Severe losses in battle, troop sickness and protracted hostilities apparently dimmed the military ardor that had been so prevalent two years before.

Opinion reflected in the state press reveals that the Mexican War initially was popular with Tennesseans, but they became dissatisfied when the conflict was not vigorously prosecuted to an early conclusion and when the volunteers suffered severe casualties in battle and through sickness. Also reflected in the accounts of the war is the extreme partisanship of the Tennessee press.

Tennesseans neither expected nor feared a war with Mexico. To the contrary, they considered her weak and too torn by internal strife to be concerned about the United States' annexation of Texas. It was English and French ambitions in Mexico that Tennesseans suspected and distrusted. As a result they attributed to European influence early Mexican objection to annexation and her refusal to negotiate a settlement with John Slidell.

With a background of enmity toward Mexico, it is understandable why Tennesseans, with a vindictive spirit, so avidly volunteered to retaliate against the invasion of what they believed was American territory. The initial popularity of the war was so great that the Whig press, although characteristically blaming Polk for the war, did not hesitate to promote hostilities. Indeed, the war met such universal approval in Tennessee that each party claimed to be outdoing the other in supporting it.

Tennesseans did not demand the annexation of all Mexico. Early there did arise agitation for the acquisition of California and New Mexico as

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[111]*Ibid.*, February 26, 1848.
[112]Memphis *Appeal*, February 23, 1848.
[113]Knoxville *Standard*, February 29, 1848.
[114]Brownlow's *Whig*, March 1, 8, 1848.
[115]Memphis *Eagle*, March 18, 22, 1848; Memphis *Appeal*, March 22, 1848.

payment for Mexican debts to American citizens and for the expense of the war. Late in the conflict there seems to have been some demand for Lower California also.

Believing that the war would be short, Tennesseans did not understand or approve of Polk's dilatory tactics which were designed to encourage Mexico to sign an early peace and sell territory to the United States. The Whigs exploited this dissatisfaction with the prosecution of the war to win the gubernatorial election of 1847. They claimed that Polk had begun an unnecessary war. Why had it been necessary militarily to defend the disputed boundary area if the President was going to buy it as they asserted was his purpose in demanding the appropriations of two million and three million dollars? He was using the war to aggrandize himself politically, they claimed, and pointed out how he gave positions of military leadership to Democratic friends.

Disgust mounted when the news of battle casualties arrived back home. Even earlier, reports of devastating sickness caused discouragement. Tennesseans longed for the final peace. The war had been long and costly and they were tired.

THE FIGHT FOR LOCAL PROHIBITION IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, 1907*

By Leslie F. Roblyer

In the year 1820 Knox County, Tennessee, with a population of 13,034, supported sixty-one distilleries. Representing 58.65 per cent of the total number of manufacturing establishments within the county, these institutions produced 37 per cent of the total value of manufactured products.[1] These statistics probably are typical of the conditions which prevailed throughout the state. In view of this abundance of intoxicating beverages and the amount of drinking that the above statistics suggest, it is natural that there should have arisen in Tennessee a strong opinion that there was a drastic need for temperance in the consumption of spirituous liquids. How this temperance could best be achieved, however, was a subject of controversy. A brief survey of the legislative and moral suasive attempts to solve the problem will support the above contentions and will contribute to an understanding of later developments.

Until 1831 Tennessee kept in force a system of liquor control known as the restricted licensing system which had been borrowed from the mother state of North Carolina. Under this legislation the selling of spirituous liquors at retail to be consumed on the premises was restricted to licensed taverns and hotels, the institutions called saloons or tippling houses being prohibited under the law.[2] Since many tippling houses existed, however, in open violation of the law, they were eventually legalized in 1831 under what was known as the general licensing system.[3] Because of public dissatisfaction, the General Assembly of 1838 sought to return to the restricted licensing system, but through a legislative error it actually prohibited all retailing of liquor in quantities of less than a quart. Thus Tennessee became the first state in the Union to prohibit the retailing of liquor in small quantities.[4] Persistent defiance of the law encouraged a search for a more satisfactory solution. As a result Tennessee returned to the general licensing system in 1846 with more determination expressed in the form of a higher fee.[5] The state retained this form of regulation until after the Civil War

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*Adapted from a paper read at a meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society in Knoxville, June 3, 1949.

[1]Statistics derived from Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country* (Knoxville, 1946), 38, 89, citing a condensation of census schedules furnished by The National Archives, courtesy of Dr. Philip M. Hamer.

[2]Edward Scott (ed.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee Including Those of North Carolina, 1715-1820,* 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1821), I, 245.

[3]*Public Acts Passed at the Stated Session of the Nineteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee,* 1831 (Nashville, 1832), 101. This and similar *Acts* will hereafter be cited as *Acts of Tennessee.*

[4]*Ibid.,* 1837-38, pp. 186-87; Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932,* 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 344-45.

[5]*Acts of Tennessee,* 1845-46, pp. 154-58.

except for a period of two years, 1856-1857, when it returned to the solution proposed by the "Quart Law" of 1838.[6]

Accompanying and supporting these formal enactments was a movement of organized opposition to intemperance. As early as 1829 the efforts of temperance reformers had been rewarded by the formation of five temperance societies in the state,[7] what probably was the first society being organized at Kingston on May 13, 1829.[8] Tennesseans who were prominent on the national scene expressed agreement with the temperance agitation. Secretary of War John Eaton, with the approval of President Andrew Jackson, initiated stringent control over the United States army's system of rationing spirits. In 1833 Felix Grundy, serving as a Tennessee senator, was one of the twenty-five members of Congress who signed a paper agreeing to associate in the formation of the Congressional Temperance Society.[9] Among the early national temperance organizations which established branches in Tennessee were the Sons of Temperance, whose branch was first founded in 1846, and the Independent Order of Good Templars, which was introduced into Nashville in 1856.[10]

As the agitation for temperance began to gather adherents, the advent of the Civil War and its aftermath gave the intemperance forces a valuable advantage. While temperance organizations were forced to suspend their operations, the trials and horrors of war encouraged drinking. Hundreds of men began to engage in illicit distilling. East Tennessee acquired a national reputation as the home of the "moonshiner" who successfully evaded federal revenue collectors.[11]

Following the Civil War Tennessee resumed its licensing of tippling houses with added provisions for increased license fees. But there soon emerged a conflict, the climax of which ultimately led to state-wide prohibition. This was the contest between the school and the saloon. Many school children were being exposed to the misdemeanors of drunkards who were found at every wide spot in the road. Furthermore, there existed a realization of the need for improvement in the general conduct of the populace in the immediate vicinity of institutions of learning so as to provide the proper atmosphere conducive to educational progress. Prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1870, the state legislature had granted to educational institutions special charters which prohibited the sale of

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[6]Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee*, I, 347, 350.

[7]Ernest H. Cherrington, *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America* (Westerville, Ohio [c. 1920]), 103.

[8]Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee*, I, 342.

[9]Cherrington, *Evolution of Prohibition*, 106, 112-13.

[10]Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee*, I, 348; Ernest H. Cherrington (ed.), *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 6 vols. (Westerville, Ohio, 1925-1930), VI, 2629.

[11]Will T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 8 vols. (Chicago, 1913), III, 771.

liquor within a certain radius of the specified institution of learning. But within the Constitution of 1870 there was embodied a provision which stated that corporations should be chartered only under general laws and not by special acts of the legislature. Confronted with this impediment, the General Assembly of 1877, through the insistence of an agent of the University of the South,[12] passed the famous Four Mile Act. This statute made it unlawful "for any person to sell or tipple any intoxicating beverage within four miles of an incorporated institution of learning in this State."[13] Liberally exempted from the restrictions of this legislation were all incorporated towns or cities, holders of unexpired licenses, and manufacturers, thus reducing the net result of the act to the elimination of the crossroad "rum joints." Later periods of temperance strength resulted in other legislative action. In 1899 the legislature took a second step toward destroying the saloon when it passed the Peeler Bill, which prohibited the sale of intoxicants in municipalities of two thousand inhabitants or less that were incorporated after the passage of the law.[14] Further evidence of increased agitation was the Adams Law of 1903, which simply amended the Peeler Law so as to make its provision apply to towns having a population of not more than five thousand inhabitants.[15]

Behind these legislative triumphs had been the agitation of Tennessee's temperance organizations, which were revived during the Reconstruction era. Knoxville in the heart of the "moonshine" area became the center of the temperance agitation. Among the national organizations which resumed activity here during the post-war period was the Independent Order of Good Templars. Its pride in total abstinence was boosted in 1875 by the comforting story that a victorious Knoxville baseball team, upon being challenged to test their superiority in whiskey consumption, nobly resisted temptation by declaring that they were all Good Templars.[16] Naturally there also arose a group of local temperance societies which owed no allegiance to a national organization. Typical examples were the "Temperance Society of Brown's School House" of Knoxville and the "Lights of Temperance" of Clinton.[17] In addition, there were numerous movements, nation-wide in coverage but temporary in duration of influence in the Volunteer State. Usually they were of a more radical and emotional character than the permanent societies. In this category was the Murphy movement, a moral suasive, pledge signing, blue ribbon wearing organization. Inaugurated in Knoxville on June 23, 1878, this movement through the instrumentality of mass meetings and the work

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[12]Grace Leab, The Temperance Movement in Tennessee, 1860-1907 (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 1938), 25-26.
[13]*Acts of Tennessee*, 1877, p. 37.
[14]*Ibid.*, 1899, p. 474.
[15]*Ibid.*, 1903, pp. 5-6.
[16]*Knoxville Weekly Whig and Chronicle*, June 2, 1875.
[17]*Knoxville Daily Chronicle*, August 4, 1871.

of George G. Leavenworth, stimulated five thousand Knoxvillians to sign its pledge before the summer was over.[18] A perennially proposed solution for the problem of liquor retailing was that of local option. From 1880 to 1882 revived agitation for local option legislation seems to have had its heart in Knoxville. Thousands of appeals, pamphlets, letters, and blank memorials were sent into every part of the state from the central office in Knoxville. These efforts were fruitful. Seven ecclesiatical memorials, twenty-two university and college memorials, thirty-two press and fifty county memorials were sent to the state legislature in 1880-1881, requesting the local option solution to the permanently vexing problem.[19] National interest in the rise of the Prohibition party and the lack of any notable success by the local option attack resulted in the decline of the movement until around the turn of the century.

With the birth of a new century the long campaign in favor of prohibition at last began to bear fruit. The press had begun to be used more effectively in the cause. The state and local Woman's Christian Temperance Unions had become active organizations and their influence was greatly felt. *The Open Door,* a monthly religious paper published in Knoxville, was given over entirely to the work of the W.C.T.U. Greatly influential in the drive was the Anti-Saloon League of America. This was a non-partisan, interdenominational organization whose program included agitation and the promotion of legislation and law enforcement, while its slogan was: "the saloon must go." The organization attempted to vary its aims in accordance with the speed of the growth of public sentiment. The first of numerous Tennessee branches was founded in 1900. In 1905 W. R. Hamilton, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League in Tennessee, maintained his office in Knoxville.[20] But behind all the agitation and underlying all the turmoil were the numerous churches and energetic ministers of the municipality. They served the temperance units as the dynamo serves the electric streetcar. They enabled the temperance principle to move forward.

In opposition to the above mentioned aggregated forces there was present the materialistic symbol of intemperance—the tippling house or saloon. Planning the strategy of these institutions were some of the most highly organized corporations in the world. These corporations had survived and profited from a variety of attacks. But these organizations, to maintain their supremacy, initiated a policy which was to serve as the seed and primary cause for their own destruction. This was the policy of using their influence, their saloon facilities, and money to get favorable legislation—

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[18]*Knoxville Weekly Whig and Chronicle,* June 26-July 24, 1878; Leab, The Temperance Movement, 20.

[19]*Knoxville Weekly Whig and Chronicle,* February 2, 1881.

[20]J. T. Moore and A. P. Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1769-1923,* 4 vols. (Chicago, 1923), II, 483.

in other words, the activity of the saloon power in politics. The roots of the fight for local prohibition in Knoxville were deeply imbedded in opposition to this practice.

With the local prohibition agitation so strong in Knoxville, it is a surprise that the city still housed saloons as late as 1907. The primary handicap was the lack of legislative permission. The ultimate "dryness" of Knoxville must be attributed to three factors: (1) the functioning of the forces organized around the turn of the century and their success in accumulating followers and influencing straddlers; (2) the ill feeling toward the saloon which had been slowly built up as a result of the interference of the saloon power in local politics, thus serving as the concrete evidence of the need for annihilation; and (3) the extending of the provision of the Four Mile Act in such a way as to enable Knoxville to adopt local prohibition through the "charter repeal" method.

Renewed life was given to the smoldering embers of dissatisfaction with the handling of the liquor problem in the municipal election of 1906. During this campaign the demand for a ten o'clock closing ordinance for saloons became a major issue. All parties had declared in favor of these hours.[21] Failing to take advantage of this opportunity to gain public favor, the city council, allegedly under the thumb of the political "ring," refused to pass an ordinance imposing early closing hours on saloons prior to the election. The public immediately conjectured that this action was motivated by the desire of the "ring" to retain the support of the whiskey interests.[22] During this campaign Sam G. Heiskell, running on an independent ticket for mayor of the city, was supported by neither of the daily newspapers but was allegedly supported by the saloon power. As the result of the Retail Liquor Dealers Association's decision, Heiskell received the entire vote subject to the influence of the liquor interests and consequently was elected mayor.[23] The newly elected mayor, who had been charged during the campaign with being the leader of the "bums and thugs" of the city, further antagonized public sentiment, when in his victory speech he deliberately thanked every bum, thug, and gambler for his support and vehemently proclaimed that he was glad "that he did not owe his victory to the kid-glove element of society."[24] The immediate repercussion was the whirlwind passage by the city council of the ten o'clock closing law. In fact, the saloon narrowly escaped the vengeance of an eight o'clock hour.[25] A more important corollary was the fact that, when the November election of 1906 came around, both

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[21] *Knoxville Sentinel*, March 7, 1907.
[22] *Journal and Tribune* (Knoxville), January 20, 1906.
[23] *Knoxville Sentinel*, March 7, 1907; *Journal and Tribune*, January 21, 1906. There exists no documentary evidence of this strategy, but the fact remains that the people seem to have believed it to be the truth.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.*, January 23, 1906.

parties in Knoxville favored local prohibition legislation although through different channels. The Republican party favored an extension of the Four Mile Law which would prevent the sale of liquor within four miles of any school whether in a town or in the country, that is, state-wide prohibition. The Democratic plank endorsed an extension of the Adams Law which would permit cities with over 5,000 inhabitants to abolish their charters; upon re-incorporation they would automatically be freed from the presence of the saloons.[26]

Another motivating force behind the movement to rid the queen city of the East Tennessee mountains of its distasteful element was the project entitled "Greater Knoxville," which sought to encourage the annexation of surrounding suburbs to the corporate limits of the city. The desired additions were hesitant because they realized that annexation to Knoxville under its existing charter would permit the establishment of saloons in their midst.[27]

When the state legislature met in January, 1907, it was recognized that the temperance sentiment was very strong. Many of the prominent members were elected on a straight anti-saloon platform. Other conditions were found favorable to the enactment of temperance legislation. Governor M. R. Patterson and the Democratic regime were not opposed to the extension provided the consent of the people were obtained whenever a charter was abolished as a means of getting rid of saloons.[28] The city council of Knoxville, although split in its voting number, went on record as favoring an extension of the Adams Act so that it would be applicable to Knoxville.[29] Numerous religious organizations in the city also expressed approval of this plan. Those who opposed the amendment of the Adams Act proposed as an alternate solution to satisfy the "Greater Knoxville" promoters the following procedure: segregation of the saloons, limiting them to the area of the old city and prohibiting them from the realm of the new.[30] But this only served to antagonize further the temperance forces and make them more determined. The climax of this controversial issue was the passage of the Pendleton Bill by a large majority of the state's legislators with Knoxville's representatives voting in the affirmative. This bill amended the Adams Act so as to extend its provisions to cities of 150,000 inhabitants or less.[31]

With legislative permission assured, Knoxville enthusiasts immediately made plans to extend the sway of local prohibition over their fair city. Following the enactment of the Pendleton Bill, there existed three possible ways in which the saloons could be eradicated from Knoxville: (1) legislation

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[26] *Ibid.*, October 31, 1906.
[27] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1907.
[28] *Knoxville Sentinel*, January 23, 1907.
[29] *Journal and Tribune*, January 19, 1907.
[30] *Ibid.*, January 27, 1907.
[31] *Acts of Tennessee*, 1907, p. 81.

extending the Four Mile Law as advocated by the Republicans, which was actually state-wide prohibition; (2) direct and immediate legislation to abolish the charter and reincorporate the city; (3) reference to the people of the question of abolishing the city charter, which would mean that upon reincorporation Knoxville automatically would be closed to saloons. The Knoxville Anti-Saloon League maintained that the members of the Knox County delegation had been elected on an Anti-Saloon platform which proposed direct legislation. But the majority of the Knox County legislators maintained that their instructions went no further than a declaration in favor of the extension of the Adams Law.[32] Thus the saloons were not to be abolished from Knoxville without an election in which a majority of the city's electorate signified that they desired the change. Consequently, on February 8, 1907, Senator V. A. Huffaker introduced, and on February 14 the legislature passed a bill providing for the election in Knoxville.[33]

There immediately arose a split in the political elements of Knoxville, not based on party membership but on economic affiliation. A large percentage of the business men, led by Mayor S. G. Heiskell, espoused high license and segregation as a better solution. This salvation was favored by the whiskey interests. Opposing this plan were the temperance organizations, led by the ministers of the city, who embraced the proposed local prohibition plan. For one solid month there raged a battle of propaganda, characterized by mass meetings and an extensive canvassing of the city by the consolidated temperance forces operating in the community, and by countering efforts by the liquor interests to influence public opinion.

Some of the arguments which served as the basis of the opposition to local prohibition and which were immediately advanced by the segregationists and advocates of high licenses were these: (1) Atlanta had tried local prohibition for two years and was only too glad to return to the old system; (2) other states, most recently Vermont, had abandoned prohibition after a trial period;[34] (3) prohibition would mean financial disaster to the city. In connection with the last-named argument it was contended that if Knoxville went "dry" 113 buildings would be vacated; the city would lose from $28,250 to $33,500 in revenue which would necessitate raising the tax rate from $1.45 to $1.85; the state and county would correspondingly lose $54,692, and the city school fund would consequently be reduced by $18,230.[35] Against these statistics which tended to prove that prohibition was injurious to public finances, the temperance forces brought forth these answers: (1) inasmuch as three-fourths of the crimes committed in Knoxville were directly traceable to the saloon, a reduction of the city's municipal

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[32]*Journal and Tribune*, February 3, 1907.
[33]*Ibid.*, February 8, 1907; *Acts of Tennessee*, 1907, pp. 291-93.
[34]*Knoxville Sentinel*, February 6, 1907.
[35]*Journal and Tribune*, January 31, February 9, 1907.

expenditures caused by the elimination of three-fourths of the arrests and three-fourths of the criminal costs and jail expenses would offset the loss that would come as a result of the discontinuation of the saloon license; (2) the money which had been spent in the saloons could be used instead for more beneficial purposes; (3) into every location vacated by a saloon, general prosperity would enable a grocery store to establish itself.[36] Less statistical were further arguments by the anti-saloon organizations. They maintained that the immoderate use of liquor lessens the productive capacity of the individual and the community. It was their sincerest belief that prohibition would eliminate the control of politics and local legislation by the saloon power.[37] But the high licensists were not to be overcome by rationalizations. A century of similar attacks had provided them with equally sensible theories as: (1) there is a great difference between prohibition and temperance; (2) prohibition is impossible and impractical; (3) prohibition breeds disrespect for law because being unenforceable, it encourages lawlessness; (4) the provisions of prohibition infringe upon one's inalienable rights by restricting his individual actions.

The offensive designed by the united temperance managers featured mass meetings and weekly church messages. The Market Hall in Knoxville was the scene of numerous sessions, at least twice during the week and a double feature on Sunday. To arouse interest and to counteract the economics of intemperance, rally calls were quite literary, as this one: "A Rally Call to Men and Women Who set Happy Homes above the Almighty Dollar."[38] While such active ministers as Dr. F. W. Perryman, the Rev. R. L. Bachman, and the Rev. J. W. Perry usually sought to arouse moral righteousness on Sunday mornings, frequently laymen occupied the pulpits of the various churches. Leaflets and pamphlets were distributed in great quantities. The W.C.T.U. organized every ward in the city, assigning to each a secretary to check the affiliations of every voter. Contacts were established within Sunday schools through which the children were taught temperance songs in preparation for the grand march on election day. Through the W.C.T.U. a preliminary order was placed for five thousand buttons bearing the motto: "The Saloon Must Go."[39] Thomas L. Carty was appointed chairman of the temperance forces and arrangements were made to collect $5,000 with which to conduct the campaign.[40] Resolved to exhaust every possible method of vote swaying, the local prohibitionists invited such outstanding speakers from out-of-state organizations as the Rev. George Stuart of Cleveland and Mrs. Carrie Nation, and such state officials as Senator I. L. Pendleton, the author of the law, and U. S. Senator E. W. Carmack.

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[36] *Ibid.*, February 3, 1907.
[37] *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 6, 1907.
[38] *Journal and Tribune*, February 10, 1907.
[39] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1907.
[40] *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 20, 1907.

Meanwhile the whiskey interests and the advocates of the high license plan were not resting on their century-old laurels. Their most extensive formal attack was delivered through paid advertisements. At least twice a week, a one-half page was purchased in both the *Knoxville Sentinel* and the *Journal and Tribune*. These carried such titles as: "Prohibition in Theory and Practice; Utter Failure of Prohibition in Atlanta, Maine and Iowa; What Great Statesmen and Thinkers have said about Such Legislation."[41] Sandwiched between the regular sessions arranged by the temperance forces were mass meetings conducted by the high licensists, who emphasized to the business men the financial losses which would follow the establishment of prohibition in their city. Mayor Heiskell was most capable in presenting this appeal. The fear of business insecurity made this viewpoint most appealing to some of Knoxville's best business men.[42]

In order to insure victory in the election, each opposing force tried to use the Negro population to its advantage. The whiskey interests allegedly and naturally sought to promote the registration of the colored element, firmly believing that the "fire water" would be sufficient inducement to direct the Negro to vote in the desired manner. To forestall this practice, the temperance organizations invited Booker T. Washington to speak to the Negro men of Knoxville. Inasmuch as Washington was unable to come, the Rev. A. W. Dodson, "the Black Spurgeon of Kentucky," consented to work toward the elevation of the colored populace of the city.[43]

As the fateful day of the election approached, each spirited organization sought to climax its activities by maneuvers which would invalidate the contentions of the other. Thomas L. Carty, the Anti-Saloon chairman, sent a representative to Atlanta to obtain evidence to disprove the claim so ably advanced by the whiskey interests that prohibition had failed in that city.[44] The newspapers, which at first had feared that local prohibition was of too radical a nature, soon realized the degree of aroused sentiment and joined wholeheartedly in the campaign. Because of his national reputation and because of his eloquent address, Senator E. W. Carmack climaxed the raging battle when he concluded his appeal with these words: "For, my countrymen, the finger of the people has written the doom upon the wall—the saloon must go!"[45]

The firmly established whiskey interests and advocates of high license and segregation were equally astute in their last week's maneuvers. It was said that they were dragging men in from the railroad camps to register

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[41]*Journal and Tribune*, February 24, 28, March 5, 1907; *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 25, 1907.
[42]*Ibid.*, February 4, 1907; *Journal and Tribune*, February 21, 1907.
[43]*Ibid.*, February 25, March 6, 1907.
[44]*Knoxville Sentinel*, March 5, 1907.
[45]*Journal and Tribune*, March 9, 1907.

so that they might vote for the retention of the established institution. With simple dignity they made a great play over the fact that a Morristown business man, who had permitted his name to be attached to an advertisement which broadcast the prosperity resulting from the establishment of prohibition in Morristown, was forced to declare bankruptcy only a few weeks later.[46] The last advertisement used by the whiskey interests propounded the essence of their defense: "Abolition of saloons will cost Knoxville half a million annually."[47]

Poll tax tabulations on March 9 indicated that great interest had been aroused by the clashing of the ideals of the two forces. The number of poll tax receipts exceeded the largest of any previous election by 1,500.[48] The day, March 11, 1907, found a variety of sentiments awaiting the commencement of activities. For the whiskey interests, there was nothing to gain and everything to lose. For the temperance agitators, there was everything to gain and only a hard fought battle to lose. For the children the day signified the end of weeks of preparation. At seven o'clock hundreds of women and children formed for an eight o'clock parade. Schools were closed; business houses failed to open; factories shut down. Ten thousand[49] strong, people of all varieties paraded with signs bearing such slogans as: "Protect our Cradles; Vote for Me, Papa; Save the Girls."[50] A feature of the parade was a group of University of Tennessee students "on a real, rolling water wagon, an omen of the future."[51] During the day various techniques were employed rather satisfactorily by the temperance workers. Any man suspected of being a "wet" promoter was followed about the polls all day by women who restricted his freedom of action. Mrs. Nannie Curtis, the noted temperance worker from Texas, spoke at various polling places. Miss Vera Smith and her accompanist were driven from polling place to polling place where she lent her beautiful voice to the prohibition cause.[52] Stringent enforcement of voting regulations was urged to prevent the use of illicit practices by the whiskey interests. By nightfall, victory was assured the "drys." The final count was 4,174 in favor of abolishing the city charter and 2,245 against, or a "dry" majority of 1,929.[53] This constituted the greatest victory of the temperance forces in Tennessee before the state-wide prohibition legislation of 1909.

The natural corollary to this election occurred on March 26, 1907, when companion acts repealing the charter of the city of Knoxville and rein-

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[46] *Knoxville Sentinel*, March 9, 1907.
[47] *Journal and Tribune*, March 11, 1907.
[48] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1907.
[49] *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis), March 12, 1907.
[50] *Knoxville Sentinel*, March 11, 1907; *Journal and Tribune*, March 12, 1907.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] *Ibid.*

corporating the same, effective November 1, 1907, were passed by the state legislature.[54] Within the new charter, ordinance power was given to the mayor and aldermen "To prohibit and suppress all sale by retail for beverage purposes, or the giving away for beverage purposes, of intoxicating liquors, including ale, wine, and beer, within the limits of such corporations."[55] As the day of dryness came nearer, the saloon keepers began to realize that their business was nearing its end, and they desperately began to dispose of their stock. The following type of headline began to appear in the press: "Bargains in Booze, the Order of the Day. . . . Those of Small Capacities May Purchase Jags at the Price of a Postage Stamp."[56] On November 1, 1907, Knoxville's saloons took the count of ten. With an estimated population of 80,000 people, this East Tennessee city claimed to be the largest city in the South to sail under the temperance banner. For the queen city of the East Tennessee mountains, most aptly was the weather forecast given: "A long and unbroken dry spell."[57]

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[54]*Acts of Tennessee*, 1907, pp. 752-54, 755-84.
[55]*Ibid.*, 762.
[56]*Journal and Tribune*, October 27, 1907.
[57]*Ibid.*, November 1, 1907.

THE ELECTION AND FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF BEN W. HOOPER AS GOVERNOR OF TENNESSEE

By Russell L. Stockard

From the Civil War to 1912 the political history of Tennessee was marked by almost uninterrupted Democratic victories at the polls. To be sure, the Republicans generally maintained their dominance in the eastern part of the state, but on only three occasions were they able to win the governorship.[1] In 1880 a Republican won the race for governor, and after thirty barren years, in 1910 and 1912, another candidate wearing the Republican label ascended to the highest office within the gift of the people of Tennessee.

The Republican victory in 1880 was due primarily to the split within the Democratic party. This split was due to a difference of opinion as to how the state debt should be liquidated and resulted in the nomination of two candidates for governor — John V. Wright, of Maury County, and Samuel F. Wilson, of Sumner County. Republicans, on the other hand, were united on a plan for paying off the state debt. Specifically, Wright and the state credit faction of the Democrats wanted to pay the debt in full in order to maintain the credit of the state; Wilson and the "low tax" Democrats wished to pay in full only the state debt proper and to "repudiate" those portions of the remaining debt which were claimed to be fraudulent. The Republicans, as was their custom, wished to pay off the debt on a dollar for dollar basis and opposed any adjustment without the consent of the bondholders.[3] This proposal, of course, appealed to the financial interests throughout the state.

Not only did the Republicans in the 1880 campaign have an eye on the vote of the creditor, but they craved the Negro vote as well. Alvin Hawkins of Carroll County, the Republican standard bearer, openly appealed to the Negro vote. He expressed the belief that Democrats had no right to oppose the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. He further stated that since these amendments were part of the constitution they should be obeyed and enforced.[4] Thus, the Democrats were placed in the position of opposing the constitutional rights of the Negro. The split in the Democratic party made possible the Republican victory, and Hawkins received a large plurality

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[1]Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932*, 4 vols. (New York, 1932), II, 203.

[2]Ibid., 687-88.

[3]*Ibid.*, 686-88; Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agnarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 20.

[4]Elze E. Bogan, The Rise and Struggle for Ascendancy of the Republican Party in Tennessee, 1865-1886 (unpublished Master's thesis, Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College, Nashville, Tenn., 1949), 61.

of the votes in the gubernatorial election. To be exact, he received 103,964 votes, while the Democrats, John V. Wright and Samuel F. Wilson, received 78,738 and 57,080 votes, respectively.[5]

Between 1882 and 1910 the Republican party was unsuccessful in its attempt to win the gubernatorial office. However, it remained a constant threat to the Democratic party. In 1884, 1894, and 1896 the Republican candidates gave their Democratic opponents a close race. In 1884 the lack of harmony among the Democrats aided the Republicans but that was not enough to give them the cherished prize. The majority for Democrat William B. Bate over Republican Frank T. Reid was less than 7,000 votes.[6] The Republican gain must be attributed to Democratic disunity and to the fact that the Republican party program called for industrialization and internal improvements.

The gubernatorial election of 1894 saw an apparent Republican victory reversed in favor of the Democrats. H. Clay Evans, a native Pennsylvanian, defeated the incumbent Peter Turney by 748 votes. The delay in receiving election returns from certain East Tennessee counties, known to be strongly Republican, led many of Turney's supporters to charge the Republicans with fraud. Whether there was actual fraud or not the Democratic legislature, after an investigation, threw out the votes of the counties sending late returns.[7] As a result of this action Turney was declared to be the victor by a vote of 94,620 to 92,266 for Evans.[8] The Republicans protested vehemently the "honest count" which defeated their candidate but to no avail. Turney was governor by virtue of legislative action.

The year 1896 witnessed another close race for the governorship. Robert Love Taylor of Elizabethton ran on the Democratic ticket and George N. Tillman of Nashville was the Republican nominee for governor. Taylor, who was making his third bid for office, won by a majority of 7,000 votes over his Republican opponent.[9]

By the turn of the twentieth century new alignments and new issues in Tennessee produced a resurgence of Republicanism. Much of the new power probably could be attributed to the fostering of industry by the Republicans. This program won support of railroad interests and certain elements interested in industry, finance, and commerce. Proposed reforms in education, the liquor traffic, and prison conditions gave rise to new political issues which offered Republicans an opportunity to win additional support.

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[5]MS. Election Returns, 1880 (Secretary of State's Office, Nashville, Tenn.).
[6]*Ibid.*, 1884.
[7]Robison, *Bob Taylor*, 186.
[8]Election Returns, 1895.
[9]Robison, *Bob Taylor*, 184.

The changing national scene undoubtedly had a far-reaching effect on the Republican party in Tennessee. The national Republican party gained control in 1896 and remained in control of the administration until the Democratic victory in 1912. During this period the presidents, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft, had a definite impact on Tennessee Republicans.[10] This eventually gave rise to a "new" Republican in Tennessee. The "new" party as might be expected had new leaders. Prominent among these were H. Clay Evans, Horace Nelson Cate, Newell Sanders, and Ben W. Hooper.

Among those new leaders probably the most outstanding was Ben W. Hooper. He certainly played a larger role in state politics than his contemporaries. Born on October 13, 1870, and educated at St. John's Orphanage of the Episcopal Church and at Carson-Newman College, Hooper began his career in politics when he was elected as the Cocke County representative to the lower house of the general assembly in 1893. In 1895 he was re-elected. Meanwhile, he engaged in the practice of law, following study in the office of Horace Nelson Cate, the prominent Republican attorney of Newport, and admission to the bar in 1891. After serving as captain in the Spanish American War in Cuba, he resumed his practice of law and continued in that profession until 1906, when he was appointed assistant district attorney of the United States.[11]

Although Hooper was to win the highest office, it was H. Clay Evans who did as much as anyone to make the Republican party a formidable power in Tennessee. The Republican party's advancement was the paramount ambition of Evans, not an unusual position for a native Pennsylvanian. This Chattanooga iron and railway-car man was an able speaker who served the national Republican party in this capacity on numerous occasions. In addition, he was thrice elected mayor of Chattanooga and served as chairman of that city's board of education. He was United States commissioner of pensions, 1897-1902, and from 1902 to 1905 he served in the position of American consul at London,[12] no doubt a reward from the national party for his work in Tennessee.

Newell Sanders re-enforced the leadership of Ben W. Hooper and H. Clay Evans and also added distinction to the Republican party in Tennessee. A transplanted Indianian, Sanders was one of the most distinguished men in East Tennessee. In his new home he achieved recognition

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[10]Verton M. Queener, "The East Tennessee Republican Party, 1900-1914," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 22 (1950), 97-98.

[11]John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, *Tennessee: The Volunteer State, 1796-1923*, 3 vols. (Nashville, 1923), II, 148-49; Tennessee *House Journal*, 48 General Assembly, 1893, 1 session, 3. Hereafter cited as *House Journal*.

[12]*Who's Who in Tennessee* (Memphis, 1911), 87; Moore and Foster, *Tennessee, II*, 10-18.

and prestige. He was a plow manufacturer and was elected a director of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway Company in 1908. Sanders was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1900 and 1908. His position as chairman of the Republican State Committee of Tennessee from 1894 to 1912 suggests the main reason for his appointment as United States senator in 1912.[13]

The Republican party, as already indicated, was a constant threat to the Democrats throughout the period from 1880 to 1910. Yet, except for Hawkins' victory in 1880, the Republicans had been unable to elect their gubernatorial candidate. According to one authority, continuous Republican failures were due to: (1) the Negro's allegiance, which had been largely responsible for labeling the party as the Negro party; (2) the continuation of hard feeling produced by the Civil War and Reconstruction, which caused whites to shy away from Republicanism; (3) factionalism within the Republican party; (4) legislation directed against the Republicans in the form of poll tax and registration laws designed to restrict Negro voting; and (5) concerted attempts to weaken Republicanism in Tennessee by resorting to gerrymandering practices.[14]

To this writer these explanations appear plausible. Despite these limiting factors, however, the party had proved to be a serious threat to the Democrats on the three occasions mentioned earlier. This was possible because the majority party was almost hopelessly divided. In 1908 the Democrats were again divided.[15] Now the cleavage was over the liquor traffic. It was a direct aftermath of a controversy between Edward Carmack, editor of the *Nashville Tennessean,* and Governor Malcolm Patterson. Carmack favored measures to curb the sale of whiskey while Patterson espoused continued sale of liquor under local option arrangements. Each man sought to win the Democratic nomination in 1908, and for two years prior to the meeting of the nominating convention in that year had canvassed the state for support. When the convention met feeling was tense between the two men and their supporters.[16] Patterson was nominated. Carmack, however, waged a vigorous fight to defeat the Democratic nominee in the election. Continuing to oppose Patterson and all persons associated with him, Carmack offended many of Patterson's friends, one of whom, Duncan Cooper (and his son), was responsible for his death by assassination in November, 1908. When the Governor pardoned Cooper after his conviction, the resulting

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[13]*Ibid.*, 61; Rufus Terral, *Newell Sanders: A Biography* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1935), 3-138, 204.

[14]Verton M. Queener, "The East Tennessee Republicans in State and Nation, 1870-1900," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), II (1943), 99-128.

[15]Will Dunn Smith, The Carmack-Patterson Campaign and Its Aftermath in Tennessee Politics (unpublished Master's thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., 1939), 36.

[16]*Ibid.*, 42-46.

furor intensified factionalism and wrecked the party. Thus, by 1910 Democrats were split into two distinct factions, Independent Democrats and Regular Democrats, who opposed each other as if they were two different parties. In June the "Regulars" re-nominated Patterson for governor; but the "Independents" abstained, indicating their willingness to support the Republican candidate, if he should be a prohibitionist. Also the Independents ran separate candidates in August in a judicial election and defeated the incumbent Regulars when the Republicans decided not to run anyone in opposition.[17]

In addition to the factionalism in the Democratic party, other factors helped to produce a situation which could serve to the advantage of the Republicans. For one thing, many people disapproved of the method which the Democrats had used to handle the state debt. At the same time, it appears to this writer, the hatred that existed as a result of the Civil War and Reconstruction gradually began to disappear, and Republican promotion of industrial, manufacturing, and business interests throughout the state began to yield dividends in the form of increased support. Also, the Republicans had won national victories. Finally, a new leadership grew up and took over the control of the party. The new leaders consolidated the Republicans and enlisted new forces in Tennessee, including Middle and West as well as East Tennessee, when railroad interests and manufacturing interests were gaining ascendancy as against the farming interest. Thus, at the beginning of a new century, Republicans could justifiably hope for victories in state politics.

This new hope was visible in the Republican Convention of 1910, the largest and most significant in the party's history.[18] Delegates were in attendance from all sections of the state. They converged on Nashville's Ryman Auditorium from points as far east as Johnson County and as far west as Shelby County. All the outstanding leaders from the various sections of the state made their appearance. They were John Overall, Captain Ben W. Hooper, Judge George M. Henderson, L. W. Dutro, and James Fowler. Each of these men could easily be considered for the nomination as the Republican candidate for the office of governor. However, members of the State Executive Committee dominated this convention. That is to say, they were powerful enough to elect any candidate whom they might choose.[19]

On the eve of the convention it was apparent that favorite sons of the East and West Tennessee areas would probably be placed in nomination. On

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[17]*Ibid.*, 51-54; Carmen H. Priest, History of Temperance in Tennessee, 1910-1918 (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1937), 7, 15; Terral, *Newell Sanders*, 179-80; *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, June 17, 1910.
[18]*Nashville Banner*, August 15, 1910; *Nashville Tennessean*, August 15, 1910.
[19]*Nashville Banner*, August 15, 1910.

the other hand, there were others who though doubtful were hopeful.[20] Among the favorite sons, the most likely to be nominated were Alfred Taylor of Happy Valley (near Elizabethton), Ben W. Hooper of Newport, George M. Henderson of Rutledge, L. W. Dutro of Memphis, and John Overall of DeKalb County. Due to the wide division of sentiment among the delegations it would be difficult for any of the leading candidates to win a majority of the convention. Therefore, to avoid a deadlock became the major concern of some of the Republican leaders. This, in part at least, accounted for much of the activity on the eve of the convention. This activity in turn gave rise to rumors and counter-rumors concerning the chances of certain candidates, but these rumors did not noticeably influence the work of the convention.[21]

It was at no time publicly stated but it was understood among the participants in the pre-convention activities that the solution to the difficulty of the convention rested largely in the hands of the Evans-Sanders faction.[22] This conclusion stemmed from the knowledge that this faction controlled the party and the convention organizations. To the politically wise it was a foregone conclusion that any candidate upon whom the group might agree could and would obtain the nomination. Who that man would be, the leaders of the faction claimed they had not decided.

Hooper and Fowler apparently held the lead when the caucus ended in early hours of the following morning. Yet by daybreak of August 16 Overall, of DeKalb County, loomed as the leading candidate, with Taylor running a close second. Hooper's chances had appeared to decline after the prolonged and frequent conferences during the previous night. Yet despite this appearance there was some consideration given to a proposition submitted by supporters of Overall and Henderson, according to which Hooper would receive their combined support.[23]

As last minute preparations for the convention began, prospects of the several hopefuls varied. Overall's supporters asserted that they were practically certain of the nomination if all his followers would "stand pat." The supporters of Taylor and Henderson could not come to any agreement on their candidates. Consequently, neither group would make any predictions. Hooper's success, it was conceded, was largely contingent upon the elimination of one or more of the other candidates. A half hour before the hour fixed for the first convention session, backstage maneuvers took an unexpected turn. It was announced that the friends of Robert S. Sharp, Overall, and Henderson had reached an agreement whereby they would throw their entire support to Hooper. This decision, it was announced, had

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[20]*Ibid.*
[21]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, August 15, 1910.
[22]*Nashville Banner*, August 15, 1910.
[23]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, August 16, 1910.

come after they had realized that their candidates could not obtain enough votes to win the nomination.[24]

Actually, the decision of these candidates to withdraw had been made the day before under pressure from the Sanders faction. Although not an announced candidate, Newell Sanders had been considered the logical choice as the Republican standard-bearer. But many felt that "Sanders' genius was in organization rather than in campaigning." At a midnight caucus of Republican leaders with Major E. B. Stahlman, publisher of the *Nashville Banner* and leader of the Independent Democrats, it was decided that Ben W. Hooper should be the choice of the convention. One influence leading to this decision was the realization that the Republican candidate, whoever he might be, would need the support of the *Chattanooga Times,* another outstanding Independent Democratic paper. When it was learned by telephone that the *Times* would not support Sanders, the Chattanoogan, with the good of the party as his primary concern, threw his solid support behind Hooper.[25] This meant that Hooper was almost assured of the nomination.

Amid an atmosphere made tense by the activity of the day before, the convention, on August 16, formally opened with prayer. In routine preliminaries Alf Taylor received the convention's endorsement as the temporary chairman. As Taylor took over his duties several delegates yelled, "Taylor for Governor." Then there followed an enthusiastic and prolonged ovation in his behalf. An hour later, after the demonstration was concluded, the body elected William H. Penland as permanent chairman.[26]

With Penland presiding, the convention moved ahead with the program which had been outlined under the direction of H. Clay Evans. Rousing speeches were made by Harry B. Anderson of Shelby County, Lee Brock of Nashville, Judge Henderson, and by Evans himself. Evans, in a clear, direct, and forceful manner, stated that he believed "the Governor, Malcolm R. Patterson, was connected with a terrible crime. That crime," he said, "must be blotted out." "The Republicans," he continued, "invite all liberty-loving people to join with them in performing the job."[27]

After all speeches of this nature were concluded the convention turned to the task of nominating a candidate for the office of governor. Horace N. Cate, of Newport, arose and sought to impress upon those present the importance of the business before them by declaring that the election in November would restore constitutional government and destroy machine government. In a fighting tone he asserted:

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[24]*Nashville Banner,* August 16, 1910.

[25]Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 183. In his preface Mr. Terral states that his chapters dealing with the Hooper administration were read by Governor Hooper, from whom he also obtained information directly.

[26]*Nashville Banner,* August 16, 1910.

[27]*Ibid.*

> It behooves us to nominate a man who will command the respect of all the people of the state and who can make the mastiff of Democracy quail. The man I shall nominate has been raised amid surroundings that make strong men; he is as rugged in character as the mountains that tower above him. He has fought adversity and has come out of the fight a wise leader of men. In ability he is the peer of any in the state. His sympathies are for law and order. When he is in the gubernatorial chair, there will be no saloons open on your streets. If the militia is necessary to quell lawlessness on Reelfoot Lake, it will be called out [and] if necessary to quell lawlessness in the streets of Nashville.

Cate ended by formally placing in nomination the name of Captain Ben W. Hooper. John Early of Hamilton County seconded the nomination, as did Robert S. Sharp of Chattanooga. The demonstration that followed had never been equalled in any Tennessee convention.[28]

In this atmosphere of triumph and spirit of unity, John Jennings, of Campbell County, nominated Alf A. Taylor. The mention of the name of this famous East Tennessean and veteran of many years of party service was received with loud cheers. Jesse J. Rogers of Knox County, William F. Poston of Crockett County, John S. Beasley of Lauderdale County, and Captain Tobe Geddis of McMinn County seconded Taylor's nomination.[29]

After these two nominations the convention was brought to the point of making a choice. Due to the vociferous demonstration after Taylor's nomination it was difficult for Chairman Penland to conduct the balloting on the two nominees. Falteringly, the voting proceeded. On the first ballot Hooper received 382 votes, as against 201 given to Taylor. On a motion by Captain Geddis the nomination of Hooper was made unanimous.[30] While the successful nominee was being escorted to the front of the platform the convention arose en masse and shouted. In accepting the nomination Captain Hooper expressed himself as being glad the contest had come to a vote in this convention, because organs of the Patterson machine had heralded the report that the nominee was agreed upon at some secret conference. Continuing, he said that he had come to Nashville by himself; that when he got there, he had found himself nobody's first choice and everybody's second choice. He ended his brief acceptance speech by declaring that he would not have had the nomination had it not come from the people.[31] Realizing that one reason for his selection was his acceptability to the Independent Democrats, he invited that group to join the Republicans in "clearing out

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[28]*Ibid.*
[29]*Ibid.*
[30]*Ibid*, August 17, 1910.
[31]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, August 18, 1910; *Nashville Tennessean*, August 17, 1910.

the Augean stables." After this had been accomplished they could return to their own party, or they would be welcome to remain within the Republican ranks.[32]

The nomination of Hooper drew a favorable response from all parts of the state. Republican, Democratic, and Independent newspapers quickly reflected the general satisfaction over the results of the convention. The *Knoxville Journal and Tribune* praised the choice of the Republicans, stating that in view of the gubernatorial material present and the spirit of harmony that prevailed the convention could make no mistake.[33] The *Chattanooga Times* applauded Hooper's selection and declared it would be difficult to find any fault with Hooper except his lack of experience. Even that lack, the paper stated, in time of emergency might prove to be a virtue.[34] The *Memphis Scimitar* viewed Hooper's nomination and his possible election as a rebuke to the bad administration by the Democrats and the discord, strife, and death "which it had brought to the state." "These are progressive times," said the *Scimitar,* "and the party which succeeds in Tennessee is going to be the party most useful to Tennessee."[35] The Republican convention, the *Nashville Banner* asserted, had nominated a man who would be acceptable to the political allies of the Republicans;[36] all other candidates against whom objections might be raised had eliminated themselves.[37]

After Hooper's nomination was out of the way the convention adopted a platform which Evans, the chairman of the Platform Committee, presented to the group;[38] it was labeled by some as "broad and non-partisan." Some of the major planks of the platform included provisions which condemned the administration of any office on partisan or factional basis; favored the redistricting of the state without regard to political complexion of any county; upheld state-wide law enforcement; opposed extensive convict labor in mines; pledged "no backward step on the subject of temperance"; condemned threats to annul election laws of the state; and vigorously opposed the pardon policy followed by the previous administration. Following a few committee meetings the convention adjourned in a spirit of confidence for the forthcoming election in November.[39]

While the Republicans were drawing together opposing factions and preparing for victory with Hooper, the Democrats were again falling into utter disunity. Governor Malcolm R. Patterson, faced with powerful opposition within his own party, on September 10 reluctantly withdrew from

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[32]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* August 18, 1910.
[33]*Ibid.,* August 17, 1910.
[34]*Chattanooga Times,* August 17, 1910.
[35]*Memphis Scimitar,* August 17, 1910.
[36]*Nashville Banner,* August 17, 1910.
[37]*Ibid.,* August 18, 1910.
[38]*Ibid.*
[39]*Nashville Tennessean,* August 18, 1910.

the race. The day before, Luke Lea, with financial aid from Newell Sanders, had purchased the *Nashville American* and merged it with his *Tennessean,* thus removing from the scene the only pro-Patterson paper in the state capital.[40] A few days later, on September 15, the Independent Democrats endorsed the candidacy of Ben W. Hooper.[41] Another factor in Patterson's decision to withdraw from the race was the fact that state, civic, religious, and temperance forces had united their strength in a concerted effort to defeat him.[42] Patterson declared his withdrawal was motivated by a desire "to harmonize the discordant elements in the Democratic party."[43] Less than a month later, October 6 to be exact, the Regular Democrats with some of the Independents convened in a "harmony convention" at Nashville to select a substitute for Patterson. The result was the nomination by acclamation of former-Governor Robert L. Taylor[44] on a platform which "evaded the subject of prohibition."[45]

Some time before this action by the Democratic Convention, Newell Sanders, chairman of the Republican Executive Committee, had been planning the method of Hooper's campaign. When the plans were completed Hooper opened his campaign with a speech at Newport,[46] his hometown, in the section of the state where virtually everyone felt the bulk of his strength was concentrated. The *Nashville Tennessean,* commenting editorially on Hooper's speech, stated that "Hooper opened his campaign with zeal, presenting his claims for popular approval with great force and convincing reason." This newspaper further observed "that the best elements of the Democratic and Republican parties have come together . . . to purge the State of venality in public service."[47]

Hooper appears to have been highly successful with his East Tennessee campaign tour. Appraising the effect of the candidate's efforts, the *Knoxville Journal and Tribune* declared that the size of the crowds which had come to hear him, among the largest political gatherings ever to witness campaign speeches, was an indication that victory was assured.[48] On the same point the *Commercial Appeal* of Memphis pointed out that Hooper had wrought well in East Tennessee, the only place he could expect a majority.[49]

After the Republican candidate had covered much of East Tennessee, he headed for Middle Tennessee. The *Nashville Tennessean,* widely known

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[40]Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 186.
[41]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* September 15, 1910.
[42]Priest, History of Temperance, 7.
[43]*Nashville Banner,* September 10, 1910.
[44]*Ibid.,* October 7, 1910.
[45]Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 187.
[46]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* September 15, 1910.
[47]*Nashville Tennessean,* September 21, 1910.
[48]*Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* September 23, 1910.
[49]*Commercial Appeal,* September 23, 1910.

for its alignment with the Independent Democrats' endorsement of Hooper, commented on the candidate's approach to this section by observing:

> In East Tennessee the Independent Democrats have lined up with Hooper with remarkable unanimity, and as the gallant champion of law and order and good government approaches the middle section he is met with the assurance that the ranks of the Independents are unbroken and that those who stood for the independence and sanctity of the courts . . . will stand for the integrity of the Executive and the rectitude of the Legislature in November. As Captain Hooper approaches the middle section carrying the honors of a triumphant march through Tennessee, he is greeted by the enthusiasm of our people and given the cheering belief that the advocates of law and order and good government in the Democratic stronghold in Middle Tennessee will be as steadfast to the great principle involved as the people of the Republican stronghold of East Tennessee.[50]

Hooper's reception in Bedford County was reported to be unparalleled by any ever before accorded a Republican candidate for governor. Here for the first time Hooper stressed the non-partisan planks in his platform. He assured his listeners that he would divide his appointments to office between Democrats and Republicans. Pressing the point further, he disclaimed any intention of using appointments for the purpose of entrenching himself or his supporters in office. Specifically, he said, "appointive offices should not be given to build up a political machine." Implying an indictment of the Democratic administration which he hoped to supplant, Hooper, midst great applause, vowed, "I am going to give the people a reign of law and order instead of anarchy."[51]

As Hooper moved through Tennessee the response was so favorable that he grew increasingly confident of victory. This confidence seemed all the more justifiable when Patterson resigned his candidacy and paved the way for the meeting of the Democratic "Harmony Convention" that named Taylor. In Clarksville, Hooper attacked Taylor, the selection of the "Harmony Convention." He expressed the belief that it was merely a question of whom the victim should be, of what the name of the nominee would be, and not a question of the result.[52]

In Columbia, where he went after his Bedford speech, Hooper developed his speech around three main points. First, he attacked his prospective Democratic opponent Taylor for playing the role of servant to the "Patterson Machine." He stated that, so far as the people were concerned, Taylor could no longer be called "their Bob." Secondly, he harshly condemned the

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[50]*Nashville Tennessean*, September 27, 1910.
[51]*Ibid.*, October 2, 1910.
[52]*Nashville Banner*, October 11, 1910.

pardon policy of Patterson. In this connection he pointed out that "the decisions of 1,111 juries and 1,111 courts had been set aside in three and a half years." He declared that the moral injury done "among our people by the disregard for the law has been incalculable." Lastly, he reiterated a promise he had made on earlier occasions by promising that, "when I become governor I shall not use the patronage of the governor to build up a political machine. I shall surround myself with the best people of the state regardless of party, and will give a government of law and order, not of anarchy." His remarks on these points were followed by wild cheers and applause that gave indication of a friendly audience of Independent Democrats.[53]

On the night of October 11, Hooper brought his campaign to Nashville, the state capital. Major E. B. Stahlman, publisher of the *Nashville Banner,* presented the gubernatorial candidate to an audience of more than 4,000 persons in the Vendome Theatre. Hooper attacked the maladministration of the state prison by Taylor and Patterson. Amid the wild cheers of the audience, he asserted:

> It is not necessary for me to make appeal to the better elements of the state. The better elements of all parties are pulling together in the fight to lift Tennessee from the sackcloth and ashes and enable her to stand invincible and unashamed before the people of this great nation.[54]

After Nashville Hooper made appearances at Chattanooga, Murfreesboro, and McMinnville. Actually these were only a tune-up for the all important speech scheduled for Memphis, where, on October 17, he addressed an enthusiastic crowd at Jefferson Theatre. On the stage with Hooper were forty Confederate soldiers and one hundred and sixty other platform guests, about equally divided between Independent Democrats and Republicans. A crowd of approximately 3,000 gathered to listen to the East Tennessean.[55]

The young Republican candidate made his appearance on the stage amid a standing ovation. He immediately entered into his candid discussion of campaign issues as in former speeches. He first reviewed the "Kaliedoscopic changes" and the rapidly shifting political scenery in the camp of the opposition. There was a slight hiss from the audience when Hooper declared that "Senator Taylor's heart has always been with the machine," and "only a pair of cowardly legs carried him away from the state." In referring to the "Taylor-Patterson machine" the Republican made it clear that Senator Taylor, if elected, would merely be the "nominal head" and Governor Patterson would be the "real head" of the administration. The

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[53]*Ibid.*, October 3, 1910; *Memphis Scimitar*, October 3, 1910.
[54]*Nashville Banner*, October 12, 1910.
[55]*Memphis Scimitar*, October 18, 1910.

usual attention was paid to the Governor's pardon record, the conduct of the state mines, and the distribution of gubernatorial patronage. Hooper further refuted the charge of any bargain existing between Independent Democrats and Republicans, or of any plan to redistrict the state in behalf of Republican legislative control.[56]

Hooper wound up his campaign with speeches in the western part of the state, at Covington, Dyersburg, Bolivar, Selmer, Savannah, and Waynesboro. Crowds which assembled to hear him were much smaller than those which turned out to listen to his appeals at points in Middle and East Tennessee.[57] This was no more than might be expected since West Tennessee was then, as now, almost solidly Democratic.[58] Memphis, the home of Governor Patterson, could hardly be expected to grow very enthusiastic over the bitter critic whose main purpose was to discredit the Governor and his supporters. However, the Independent Democrats in their support of Hooper were making great inroads even in this section of the state.

While Hooper was waging a fighting campaign, Taylor was covering most of the important points in the state. In his campaign addresses the Democrat not only displayed superb oratorial ability but he carried the fight to the enemy in a statesmanlike manner. Unequivocally, he argued vigorously for public schools for the children, white and black; he positively denied the charge that he was a tool of the Patterson machine; and he expressed strong support for the free ballot and a fair count of votes cast. "Free government," he exclaimed, "was possible only through the free exercise of the vote and a fair count of the same. If you believe I stand for good government," he told his listeners, "vote for me. If you believe I stand for Pattersonism, act for yourself. If I am elected I will be governor. . . . There is nobody behind me."[59] Taylor made an attempt to "side-step" the previous administration, using all of his well known oratorial ability. However, the "cards were stacked" against the faithful Democrat who had left his senatorial seat in Washington in an attempt to reunite his party.

On election day, November 8, both Hooper and Taylor exuded confidence over their chances of victory. A heavy turn out of voters occurred in Middle and West Tennessee.[60] When the votes over the state were totaled it was shown that East Tennessee gave Hooper a majority that was somewhat smaller than had been expected. Hooper carried Middle Tennessee by a mere 8,000 majority; and, thanks to the support of Independent Democrats, West Tennessee showed a preference for Hooper.[61] Largely because

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[56]*Nashville Banner*, October 30, 1910.
[57]*Ibid.*
[58]*Commercial Appeal*, October 15, 1910.
[59]*Ibid.*, October 30, 1910.
[60]*Nashville Tennessean*, November 9, 1910.
[61]*Ibid.*, November 10, 1910.

of Democratic support in all sections, Hooper was able to pile up a total vote of 122,260, while Taylor received 109,254.[63]

As well as to other things, the newly elected Governor's success could be attributed to (1) his stand on state-wide prohibition, (2) the vigorous opposition to the pardon policy of the previous administration, (3) the desire on the part of Tennesseans to punish the major party for "crimes" throughout the state, (4) a unified Republican party with the aid of Independent Democrats.

Despite the appearance of a clear-cut victory, some of the Regular Democrats were unwilling to accept the result in good spirit. Instead, they attempted to create the impression that fraud had been employed in the counting of the votes. The *Commercial Appeal* exhibited the attitude of the embittered partisan papers by referring to Hooper's victory as a "calamity to the state that every fair thinking man will bitterly regret."[63]

Returns from the legislative races over the state disclosed that Hooper's Republican and Democratic supporters had succeeded in winning control of both houses of the legislature with twenty seats in the senate and a majority of thirteen in the lower house.[64] These results, seemingly, made any serious attempt to nullify Hooper's election impossible. At the same time they gave rise to hope for friendly relations between the new legislature and new governor once they were installed in office. But the talk among some Democrats about preventing Hooper from taking his office persisted. The *Nashville Banner* about the middle of November in an editorial discounted in advance the idea by saying:

> The talk of keeping Mr. Hooper out of the office to which he has been elected and seating in his stead the candidate receiving the minority vote is, we take it, mostly bravado and the futile grasping at forlorn hope in which the disappointment of defeat finds consolation.[65]

The *Nashville Tennessean* decried any move to deny Hooper the right to fill the office to which he had been elected. The desire of some Tennesseans to prevent Captain Hooper, the elected governor, from taking the office, stated the *Tennessean,* is easy to understand.

> An attempt along that line was made to shut out Hawkins the republican who carried the state in 1880, but it failed. The Democrats were more successful in depriving H. Clay Evans of his seat in 1894, and putting in Turney, the defeated democrat in his place

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[63]Election Returns, 1910.
[63]*Commercial Appeal,* November 21, 1910.
[64]*Nashville Banner,* November 17, 1910.
[65]*Ibid.,* November 11, 1910.

> . . . . The Bourbons of Tennessee will be angry at Tennessee's majority for Hooper as [Andrew] Jackson was because of Tennessee's rejection of his political heir, Van Buren in 1836, and its vote for Hugh Lawson White, the Whig. But the verdict of 1910 will stand just as that of 1836 did.[66]

The talk of a contest appeared finally to subside somewhat. The extent to which United States Senator Robert L. Taylor, the Democratic candidate, was responsible for this development cannot be accurately measured. The *Nashville Banner,* on November 16, published an article that credited Senator Taylor with saying he preferred to remain in Washington rather than to experience the "turmoil, strife and uncertainty that would attend a contest."[67]

As the time for his inauguration drew nearer Hooper decided to carry his case to the people. In this way he hoped to block efforts of the Regular Democrats who were laying plans to contest his election as soon as the legislature convened. On December 20, 1910, he circulated a private address to the people of the state. In this message he asked for support in the event the Democrats made an attempt to prevent his assuming the office of governor. He described a plot which the Regulars were reported to have instigated for the purpose of attracting to their side certain Independent Democrats and Republicans as well. He voiced the opinion that factionalism within the Republican party was encouraging Regulars to believe that they could succeed in wooing certain Republican members of the legislature away from him. Hooper told of reports being circulated to the effect that some Republican legislators were being approached with offers of money and patronage in return for their cooperation with the Regulars. Hooper termed this a menace. He reminded the people that the Republican party in Tennessee already had hurt its chances in state politics by quarreling over federal patronage. In conclusion, he advised his fellow Republicans not to allow state patronage to become a bone of contention and cause more serious division within party ranks.[68]

The effectiveness of Hooper's appeal is impossible to measure. However, events of the first day of the meeting of the legislature, January 2, 1911, suggest that the response had not been too favorable. At the hour set for swearing in of the legislative members only a part of the Independent Democrats believed to be friendly to Hooper attended and took the oath

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[66] *Nashville Tennessean,* November 14, 1910.

[67] *Nashville Banner,* November 16, 1910.

[68] *Nashville Tennessean,* December 20, 1910. Actually a new "harmony" movement had developed among the Democrats. It involved an offer to support the Hooper administration, provided the legislature should arrange for a referendum on the question of modifying the prohibition laws so as to permit saloons in the four large cities and allow the manufacture of liquor. It was accepted by the Regulars but rejected by the Independents. Priest, History of Temperance, 41-45.

of office. The other Independents and all of the Regular Democrats refused to attend the ceremony. Speculation as to why these two groups remained away was rife. The *Nashville Tennessean* interpreted the action as an attempt of a factional conspiracy "to prevent the majority of the people's representatives from doing what they desired to do."[69] In a public statement entitled "To the People of Tennessee" the thirty-seven members who stayed away from the opening session stated their version of the matter. They declared that if they were sworn in the Fusionists "would have a majority in the House and a majority on joint ballot" for the election of a senator.[70] Consistent with this plea, the abstaining members held out until January 10, at which time thirty-four of the thirty-seven returned to be sworn in.[71] The return of the prodigal thirty-four marked the end of the attempt to contest Hooper's right to the governor's office. The legislature proceeded to count the votes cast in the election of the previous November and to declare Hooper officially elected.[72]

Governor Hooper was inaugurated on January 25, 1911. Approximately six thousand people witnessed the simple but impressive ceremonies which took place in the Ryman Auditorium. Chief Justice John K. Shields administered the oath of office to Hooper after the retiring Governor Patterson had made a speech in defense of his administration and against prohibition.[73]

In his inaugural address Hooper discussed some of the more urgent features of the program he wished enacted into law. He stressed the need for improvements in the public schools of the state; for a more adequate public roads system; for the development of agricultural interests; and for an improved prison system. He pledged himself to "endeavor to give the people a business administration of the affairs of the state," and to practice rigid economy in every department. In addition, he promised to eliminate unnecessary offices, reduce expenses, and to require every official to earn the money the state was paying him. However, he expressed a belief that the underpayment of state officials was not a sound policy. He concluded his address by asserting that:

> In our patriotic ambition to witness the material development and progress of our state we must not forget that civic righteousness is the essential foundation of genuine and lasting civic greatness.[74]

The message of Governor Hooper to the senate and house of representatives on January 31 embodied his legislative program. Among other things,

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[69]*Nashville Tennessean*, January 4, 1911.

[70]Moore and Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State*, I, 612. According to Terral, *Newell Sanders*, 189, the chief purpose of the filibuster was to force the withdrawal of contests regarding the seating of several Regular Democratic members.

[71]*Nashville Banner*, January 10, 1911.

[72]*Ibid.*, January 12, 1911.

[73]*Ibid.*, January 25, 1911.

[74]*Nashville Tennessean*, January 26, 1911.

he urged the lawmakers to enact measures for (1) the improvement of public schools, (2) an expansion of the juvenile reformatory and state penitentiary, (3) the development of the agricultural department, (4) the improvement and expansion of public roads, (5) an improvement of the state's National Guard, (6) the liberalization of the election laws, (7) the improvement of a method of funding the state debt, (8) the inspection of state banks, (9) the investigation of state mines, (10) the investigation of divorces, (11) the inspection of factories, and (12) the development of more forceful temperance laws.[75]

The expected contest between the two hostile legislative factions — a fusion of Republicans and Independent Democrats on one hand, and Democratic Regulars on the other — developed soon after the legislature began its work. The election of a United States senator was the question over which the two sides tested their strength. After being divided among several candidates, the Fusionists finally concentrated on young Luke Lea, a prominent Nashville Democrat, who had established the *Nashville Tennessean* on April 6, 1907, for the expressed purpose of educating Tennessee in favor of state-wide prohibition.[76] Against Lea, the Regulars pitted ex-Governor Benton McMillin. The Fusionists succeeded in electing their candidate by a vote of sixty-eight to fifty-four.[77]

The Senate election was a Fusionist victory. Yet, it offered no assurance that Fusionism would be able to dominate in legislative battles. The strength of the Fusion was seriously tested in the legislature's action on a bill to appropriate money for Confederate pensions.[78] Verbal fireworks over the measure began when Frank Dibrell, state comptroller, caused to be introduced in the house of representatives a pension bill.[79] This action was taken without any previous discussion with the Pension Board. Hooper attributed it to Dibrell's desire to impress the people and thus enhance his chance to be re-elected.[80] In the end, the measure passed. Hooper, though he objected to the Comptroller's method of action, signed it into law.[81]

The general success of the legislature of 1911 continued to depend upon the holding together of the Fusionist groups. At the beginning of the session Edward H. Crump, the political leader of Memphis, had supported the Fusionists; but, according to Rufus Terral, when Governor Hooper continued to press for legislation to provide for rigorous enforcement of pro-

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[75]Messages of Governor Ben W. Hooper (January 31, 1911), Governors' Papers (Tennessee State Library, Nashville).
[76]*Nashville Tennessean*, February 1, 1911.
[77]Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1911 (57 General Assembly, 1 Session), 104. Hereafter cited as *Senate Journal*.
[78]*Nashville Banner*, February 3, 1911.
[79]*House Journal*, 1911, pp. 264, 382.
[80]*Nashville Banner*, February 4, 1910.
[81]*Acts of Tennessee*, 1911 (57 General Assembly, 1 Session), 79.

hibition laws, which were being openly violated, especially in Memphis, Crump withdrew his support. Governor Hooper would not make any exceptions to his campaign stand, especially where the liquor statutes were concerned. Due to Crump's withdrawal the Fusionists lost control of the legislature, which was taken over by a coalition of Regular Democrats and a small faction of Republicans led by John C. Houk and Jesse M. Littleton.[82]

On April 12, 1911, the fight between the legislative factions reached a crucial point with the passage by the house of representatives of a bill amending the election law of 1909. This amendment stipulated that the majority party should be given the majority of positions on the Election Commission, rather than an equal number as provided by the law of 1909. It also carried as a rider a clause repealing the law prohibiting the manufacture of liquor.[83] In order to make possible the adoption of the amendment five members of the Fusionists voted with the Regular Democrats.[84] Other Fusionists, thirty-four in number, who opposed the measure, immediately left their seats in the legislature and went to Decatur, Alabama. Their specific purpose was to prevent the passage of the bill over the expected gubernatorial veto,[85] since they knew that unless such drastic action were taken, the measure would certainly pass the senate and then be re-passed by both houses over the veto. One of the seceders summarized his colleagues' stand on the proposed law when he asserted that "we are determined that the people of Tennessee shall not be betrayed," and that the "five men who have so far forgotten their manhood shall be taught the lesson there are thirty-four men who know the meaning of truth, honor and a sure intent."[86] The departure of the thirty-four had the additional effect of stopping all the work of the legislature since it made a quorum impossible. For this reason their absence provoked severe criticism from the state newspapers. Some papers took advantage of the legislative muddle to try to discredit the Governor. The *Commercial Appeal* and the *Chattanooga Times* led in this attempt.[87] Even the *Nashville Tennessean,* which ordinarily supported the Governor, criticized him by asserting that:

> We do not hold the representatives individually responsible for present conditions, since one word from him would restore the quorum. We propose simply to do our duty and continue ready for business of the session. If Governor Hooper wishes to temporarily destroy the government of which he is the head, then we cannot help it.[88]

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[82]Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 195.
[83]*Ibid.,* 196-97; *House Journal,* 1911, pp. 894-96; *Nashville Banner,* April 13, 1911.
[84]*Ibid.,* April 15, 1911.
[85]*Ibid.*
[86]*Nashville Tennessean,* April 13, 1911.
[87]*Commercial Appeal,* April 16, 1911; *Chattanooga Times,* April 17, 1911.
[88]*Nashville Tennessean,* April 15, 1911.

The press comments on the Fusionist withdrawals from the legislature were not wholly unfavorable. For instance, an editorial in the *Nashville Banner* stated:

> The breaking of a quorum of the Lower House of the General Assembly by the twenty Republican and fourteen Independents is creating less excitement or comment than might have been expected. The Republicans and Independents who supported and elected Governor Hooper and a majority of legislators who were elected on platforms calling for a maintenance of the election and prohibition laws passed in 1909, generally approve the action of the Democrats and their whiskey allies of the Republican faction generally condemn and would be more pronounced in their condemnation were it not that they set the precedent two years ago when they broke a quorum of the Senate by going to Kentucky [Owensboro]. The masses as a whole are taking scant interest in the matter . . . if only the appropriations and some other minor bills had been enacted, it would probably be all right if they disbanded indefinitely.[89]

Within the legislature itself leaders of the Democratic Regulars grew angry with Hooper. They criticized him for his failure to use his influence to bring the absentee Fusionists back to the legislature.[90] Yet, as days came and went the Fusionists gave no evidence of returning. On May 11 Senator John C. Houk, one of the Republican "whiskey allies" of the Regular Democrats, suggested to the press that the "action of the governor shall be investigated." He promised that he "would go before a committee and give testimony that would convict the governor as having violated the Constitution." He emphatically declared that "the governor should be impeached by a vote of the people."[91] Of course, few other members of his party took seriously Houk's suggestions. It was understood that Hooper was without constitutional power to compel the legislative members to attend the sessions. Any informed person recognized that the obligation to force members to attend rested on the shoulders of the legislature where the constitution had placed it.

The quorumless legislature — called Rump session by some — remained in session although no official action could be taken.[92] To end the stalemate the *Nashville Banner* proposed that the legislature adjourn so that an extra session could be called.[93] The Regulars "apologized" for not adjourning and gave two reasons for refusing to do so. In the first place, they maintained that the constitution placed no limit on the general session. In the

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[89]*Nashville Banner*, April 17, 1911.
[90]*Commercial Appeal*, May 2, 1911.
[91]*Nashville Tennessean*, May 8, 1911.
[92]See Constitution of Tennessee, Article 2, Section 18.
[93]*Nashville Banner*, May 26, 1911.

second place, they held that the legislature should remain in session until it was legally adjourned; and that only a quorum could vote its adjournment.[94]

After the Fusionists had been absent from the legislature for nearly two months, reports relative to efforts to resolve the differences between them and the sitting members began to circulate. One rumor, current about the first of June, had United States Senator Luke Lea and ex-United States Senator James B. Baxter being named as peace intermediaries between the groups. The two men, however, cannot be assigned any responsibility for the settlement that was finally made. According to Rufus Terral, the filibuster was finally broken as the result of an agreement between the Fusionist leaders, Newell Sanders and Major Stahlman, and Ed Crump. The Memphian agreed to support the Fusionists except in their opposition to the repeal of the prohibition of the manufacture of liquor, provided he were given the right to name his men to the state Election Board and all members of the Shelby County Election Board.[95] Anyway, on June 24, after slightly more than three months of inactivity, the general assembly was able to count a quorum in each house![96] As a result of the agreement with Crump, the election laws of 1909 were largely preserved; and the "Manufacturer's Bill" did not actually come to a vote.

The full legislature was hardly in session before friction with Governor Hooper developed. This was the result of the introduction of a bill proposing to pay members of the legislature a bonus of $500.[97] The bill passed both houses and was sent to the Governor. Hooper opposed the bill's provisions so vigorously that he used a special message as a medium for explaining the objections on which his veto was based.[98] So convincing was his message that the houses abandoned all plans to try to re-pass the bill.[99]

Another clash between Governor Hooper and the legislature developed as a result of the passage of a General Assessment Bill.[100] This measure provided for an increase in all taxes throughout the state. In a statement to the press explaining his veto the Governor accused the bill's promoters of "oppression and harassment of the taxpayers until it became exceedingly obnoxious." He made it clear that once this bill became a law it would "radiate from the office of the comptroller and draw its motive power from the money of the people."[101] The senate immediately passed the bill over his veto, but no further action was taken by the house.[102]

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[94]*Nashville Tennessean,* May 26, 1911.
[95]Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 201.
[96]*Nashville Banner,* June 8, 1911.
[97]*Ibid.,* June 24, 1911.
[98]*Senate Journal,* 1911, pp. 897-99; Messages of Governor Hooper. *loc. cit.*
[99]*Nashville Tennessean,* July 2, 1911.
[100]*Senate Journal,* 1911, pp. 986-88.
[101]*Nashville Tennessean,* July 7, 1911.
[102]*Senate Journal,* 1911, p. 988.

During the first legislative session the press was quick to commend Governor Hooper for consistency in calling for curbs on the expenditures of state money. State newspapers heartily approved his suggestions on this point. In its comment the *Nashville Tennessean* stated:

> From every quarter came expressions commendatory of the Governor's good judgment and sensible contention, and this endorsement is not factional or partisan, but is freely given by the people irrespective of their factional or party affiliation or alignment. In this crucial time politics is forgotten, and the welfare of the state is alone considered. . . . The people of Tennessee applaud the Governor for his adamant stand against the wanton extravagance that has inked the policy of the 57th General Assembly, for he has done them a great service by pointing the way to needed reparation and reform.[103]

Until its adjournment, on July 8, 1911, Hooper attempted to obtain from the legislature measures which he believed necessary and beneficial, and to block proposed laws which he thought detrimental. He cooperated with the assembly in enacting into law several highly important non-controversial bills. One of these was the bill, passed on February 2, which granted municipalities and cities the privilege and authority to purchase property, and to erect and equip buildings for tuberculosis hospitals.[104] A second bill, which passed on February 9, permitted municipalities or counties to issue and sell bonds for the purpose of purchasing sites and erecting buildings for state normal schools.[105] A third measure, adopted on June 26, 1911, amended the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1907. This extremely important act was designed to give the public greater protections against the manufacture and sale of adulterated foods and drugs.[106] A fourth law of extreme importance was one which made it unlawful to employ any child under fourteen years of age in any business which interfered with his attendance at school.[107] A fifth measure of great significance which failed to pass, however, through a technicality, would have increased the percentage of gross revenue alloted for state education from twenty-five to thirty-three and one-third per cent.[108]

While the Governor followed closely the work of the legislature and used his influence where it would count most, he never lost sight of the idea that his record would also depend upon his administration. With a view to achieving a high degree of efficiency in the administrative field he named to important offices men who were known for their ability and honesty rather than their party affiliation. In line with this principle

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[103] *Nashville Tennessean*, July 8, 1911.
[104] *Acts of Tennessee*, 1911, pp. 27-28.
[105] *Ibid.*, 30-31.
[106] *Ibid.*, 98-102.
[107] *Ibid.*, 108.
[108] C. L. Lewis, *Philander Priestly Claxton* (Knoxville, 1948), 167.

he named both Republicans and Democrats. A Democrat, Professor John W. Brister, was appointed as superintendent of public instruction, while Captain Tom F. Peck, an Independent Democrat, was appointed to the position of commissioner of agriculture.[109] In the reorganization of the State Prison, Ernest W. Essary, a Republican, was named as prison commissioner. At the same time E. E. Fry and Silas F. Anderson, Independent Democrat and Republican, respectively, were appointed wardens at the state prisons.[110]

In one instance the senate refused to sanction Hooper's nomination. The Governor proposed the name of Professor Gus W. Dyer, a Democrat, as superintendent of public instruction. By a vote of 20 to 12 the senate rejected Dyer.[111] This rejection stemmed from the body's strong feeling against him because of his campaign efforts in behalf of Hooper.[112] Brister's name was then substituted and was approved. Otherwise, Hooper's appointments met with senate approval.

In summary, it seems reasonable to conclude that Hooper's first term, despite the deadlock which threatened to develop at the very beginning of his term, was reasonably successful. Once his right to the office was confirmed by the assembly, the Governor was able to exert considerable influence in behalf of worthwhile legislation. He was not always victorious in conflicts with the legislature; but he was able to carry his point in a majority of the cases. In the field of non-controversial legislation he cooperated with the lawmakers in writing into law a number of measures which were vital to the interest, welfare, and progress of the state. Of even greater significance, probably, was the success of his administration, although it involved an unpopular filibuster, in preventing the repeal or serious modification of the prohibition and election laws of 1909. Thus a major aim of the fusion with the Independent Democrats had been achieved and an important campaign promise of 1910 had been fulfilled.

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[109]*Nashville Tennessean*, April 20, 1911.
[110]*Ibid.*, April 21, 1911.
[111]*Senate Journal*, 1911, pp. 283-84.
[112]Priest, History of Temperance, 50.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and edited by
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(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, Nos. 9-25)

XVIII—May-December, 1791.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO MIRO', NATCHEZ, MAY 9, 1791[1]

No. 83.

John Hinds,[2] Captain of a Flatboat coming from Cumberland which has just arrived at this Post, declares the following: That he left Cumberland 24 days ago, that the Indians were bothering that Country no end, that the Week before his Departure they had killed Major Edwin Hickman[3] and wounded Colonel Robertson,[4] Commander of that District. That the Governor of Cumberland [Southwest Territory], General [William] Blount, having had news that the Tennessee Company was going to settle a Colony at Muscle Shoals, warned the Cherokees and Chickasaws that those people wanted to settle against the wishes of Congress so they could do with them what they wanted;[5] upon the knowledge of which news the members of the Company had to abandon their project, and he adds that he had received this news from Mr. McNairy[6] a superior judge in that Country.

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A. G. I., P. C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A. G. I., P. C., legajo 41. Gayoso was the Spanish governor of the district of Natchez and Miró was governor at New Orleans.

[2]Possibly the "John Hinds Senr" who got a permit in April of 1805 to build a public grist mill on Lower Sinking Branch of Beaver Creek in Knox County, Tennessee. See Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, "An Old Book of Stock Marks and Brands of Knox County, Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 22 (1950), 154.

[3]For his appointment as major of cavalry, December 15, 1790, and his replacement, June 14, 1791, because "killed," see C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States, IV, Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936), 442, 445.

[4]Gen. James Robertson. "A Return of persons killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, from Miro [Mero] District, since the 1st of January, 1791," prepared by Governor William Blount on November 5, 1792, and printed in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832-1834), I, 329-31, tells of Robertson's having been wounded on March 24, 1791, on his own plantation.

[5]President George Washington had issued three warning proclamations against participation in the Yazoo schemes on August 14 and 16, 1790, and March 19, 1791. See J. D. Richardson (comp.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 10 vols. (New York, 1896-1900), 101-02. Blount's warning came under the powers he had under the first two. The third, aimed at Dr. James O'Fallon's project for a settlement at Walnut Hills, had not yet been reported in the West. Secretary of War Henry Knox instructed John Heth on May 31, 1791, to tell Alexander McGillivray that the Yazoo companies were without public protection. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 126. He could have omitted the notice for McGillivray had already sent his Creek warriors to destroy the Muscle Shoals settlement. See below, McGillivray to O'Neill, May 22, 1791.

[6]John McNairy, one of the three judges of the Southwest Territory.

May the Lord keep Your Lordship Many years, Natchez, May 9, 1791.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO MIRO', NATCHEZ, MAY 11, 1791[7]

No. 86

Under date of April 12 last you were pleased to send me the answer of the Captain General[8] of these Provinces about Major Elholme,[9] advising me to act accordingly. Whatever measures are taken about this person will in no way influence the thinking of the Inhabitants of this District in a way that will bias their opinion of the Spanish Government. Elholme has no other occupation than of wandering from House to House and although his duplicity is not generally understood here, he is looked upon with indifference or perhaps with contempt because he lives idly. At present he lives with Mr. Isaac Gayllard[10] who allows him to remain only because he cannot rid himself of him. Notwithstanding the fact that I cannot bring any criminal accusation against his present conduct, what I have heard about his former deportment in Franklin District is sufficient to motivate your writing the Captain General not to allow him to live in this Country: but as it is always better to accomplish it by diplomacy rather than by violence, I shall advise him to go to New Orleans to talk to you about his proposal on the question of Longitude[11] since our government has made some decisions about which he should be informed, and in order to persuade him and facilitate his going, I shall tell him that if, from now on, he needs money for the trip I will let him have it and that in New Orleans you will see that he does not lack for what is necessary. If he should refuse and give me reason to suspect him, I shall oblige him to go.

I beg you to tell the Captain General when you write him that it is of the greatest importance that this individual not return to the United States because from there he might carry on a correspondence with some residents of this District who could disturb the Peace of its Inhabitants. Assure the Captain General that although these Inhabitants are new Subjects of the King, the majority of them are content with our Government, and if there is one who is naturally incorrigible I am not afraid, and without any fear I shall take steps against him, making use of the others to arrest him.

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[7]A. G. I., P. C., 41.

[8]Josef de Ezpeleta.

[9]Major Caesar Augustus George Elholme, a French member of Pulaski's Legion in the Revolution, and later prominent in efforts to set up the "State of Franklin." See J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 365-84.

[10]Isaac Gaillard owned one thousand acres in the lower Natchez district near the Homochitto River. *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 614, 855, 868.

[11]Elholme was working on a project to reconcile Spanish longitude reckonings in the West with that used by England and the United States. Spain used the old French system of counting from Ferro Islands in the Canaries.

May the Lord Keep your Lordship many years, Natchez, May 11, 1791

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Don Esteva Miró

McGILLIVRAY TO O'NEILL, LITTLE TALASSIE, MAY 22, 1791[12]

Little Tallassie, 22d May 1791

Sir

Since I wrote to Your Excellency last, I had Information that the New American Companys had fitted out a Number of Armed Men & Boats to Make Forts at the Mucle Shoals & on Wolf River Near the Chickasaws, on which I have orderd out a Number of Warriors to attack & destroy them I expect Intelligence from them in about a fortnight.[13]

I wish Your Excellency to be pleasd to order a Cask of Taffia & a barrel of Salt to be given to Frank Lesslie,[14] & it to be paid out of the Money You are to Send me, being I owe him as Much— . . .

Alex. McGillivray

his ExcY. Brigadier O Neil

O'FALLON TO BRUIN, JEFFERSON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1791[15]

Jefferson (Kentucky) 1791

My Dear Colonel

The departure of my friend, Capt. Jno. Rogers[16] for New Orleans, facilitates the transmission & certain delivery of this Letter. He is a near Kinsman to my *newly* married wife, Genl. Clarke's[17] youngest Sister—, and a Gentleman of much travel & information. As such, you will, I trust, extend your customary civilities to him.

By this time, I should have been in your vicinity, with a numerous Colony—, had not my Constituents & Partners, as well as the Colonists themselves urged me, to have postponed the Settlement, 'till the Fall. The Colonists have their Crops in ground, at the time I was ready to march

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[12]A. G. I., P. C., 204.

[13]The warriors failed to find anybody at either place and so reported to McGillivray, but he kept them on the lookout and under a chief named The Glass they were able to break up the settlement made under Zachariah Cox at Muscle Shoals later in the year. See McGillivray to Miró, June 8, 1791, in J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 291-93, and Donald Davidson, *The Tennessee*, 2 vols. (New York and Toronto, 1946), I, 188. Also McGillivray to O'Neill, May 22, 1791, below, indicates the plans of the Creek leader.

[14]John and Robert Leslie were partners in William Panton's firm, but the identity of Frank is not clear. The contents of this letter suggests he was a slave or perhaps a half-breed Indian.

[15]A. G. I., P. C., 41. The reference to the planting of crops in the second paragraph suggests that this letter was written in the late spring or early summer.

[16]Captain John Rogers, cousin of George Rogers Clark and brother to the better known Edmund Rogers later of Edmunton, Kentucky. Lewis and R. H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2 vols. (Louisville, 1924), II, 44-45.

[17]Gen. George Rogers Clark.

with the *troops*. I had 400 of them mustered at Col. Holders,[18] on the Kentucky River, and 600 at Limestone—, when I received the Company's instructions, with Letters from most of the Head Conductors of the Colonists, from Franklin & Cumberland, wishing a postponement on the above grounds. The whole would amount to about 4000 Men, with their families. Cannon, Ammunition and provisions were, and yet are ready. I expect a greater number in the Fall. We are to meet at Ducks River on its confluence with the Tennessee;[19] and thence to march to the destined Spot, by land. Genl. Clarke (who is *himself* once more) is, in chief, to Command the Armed Men, *militarily*. Genl. Sevier[20] is next to him in Command. Every *Man-colonist*, as well as the *troops*, will be armed. Our object is *Self-defence*, to settle in *peace*—, and nothing more. I want to guard against Contingencies. If our neighbors will be but neighbourly—, we will be very much so. It will be, *eventually*, their true interest, to treat us *kindly*—, nothing being farther from the Company's designs, than Hostility. Indeed, as a Company, we cannot provoke, or levy war; but *defence* is the right & duty of nature. In a word—, we shall not be *the first*, to strike.

I never yet received a Line, from Mr. Nolan, although I have repeatedly written to him—, nor a word from Mr. Phelan.[21] Have you done any thing, in Pousset & Marshall's business?[22] How comes it, that I cannot have the pleasure of a Line from you? I receive many from that Quarter. Had the Government which you now own, but known my propensities in their favour (if not outraged by their own impolicy); they would not Suspect *my designs*, or the designs of *those I represent*. But, (as I apprehend), we are misrepresented from *this Quarter*, through a wayward, Overweening, miserable Jealousy in those, who love to monopolize all favour *below*,[23] and are alarmed at any approach to *throne of Grace*, which has not *their introduction*, as Masters of the Ceremony. For me, I have no *favour* to ask—, no boon to demand; but for an adequate, a more than adequate Compensation. Time, my friend will [illigible]ricise this. My communications to you are *confidential*.

What is become of yr. good old Father?[24] Sho'd you *dare* to write,

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[18]Col. John Holder. O'Fallon's letter to him, February 3, 1791, is in installment XVII of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 25 (1953), 77-80.

[19]The Duck River enters the Tennessee approximately seventy-five miles southwest of Nashville.

[20]John Sevier, commander of the Washington District militia.

[21]Since Philip Nolan was in Wilkinson's employ it is hardly strange that he did not trouble to write to O'Fallon. As for Edward Phelan, the similarity of his name to "Fallon" had led to his arrest at Col. Peter Bryan Bruin's plantation by Spanish soldiers sent out from Natchez. See O'Fallon to Phelan, February 18, 1791, in Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 parts: vols II, III, and IV of *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1945 (Washington, 1949), Part II, 401-04. Relations of this pair can be seen from O'Fallon to Phelan, December 17, 1790. in *ibid.*, 395.

[22]Reference here is to an old debt of Marshall and Pousset's to Peter la Poole, a merchant of Charleston, S. C. O'Fallon and Major Tom Washington had purchased the papers covering this debt and wanted Bruin to help them collect. O'Fallon to Bruin, December 21, 1790, in *ibid.*, 395-98.

[23]Not a bad characterization of James Wilkinson's activities.

[24]Colonel Peter Bryan Bruin, to whom this letter was addressed, had come with his father, Peter Bruin, his mother, and their other two children when the

address me, under cover to John Clarke Esquire,[25] near Louisville, I am, now, on my way to the upper counties, to Franklin and Cumberland. I shall be returned in two Months. For news, I refer you to Capt. Rogers. I remain with great deference, partiality & esteem— . . .

James O Fallon

Bryan Bruin Esqr.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO MIRO', NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 4, 1791[26]

Yesterday you sent me a copy of the investigations of Señor Don Josef de Orue[27] about the settlement of my salary and expenses which are as follows:

When His Majesty was pleased to commission me to come to this Province, I was under the command of Count Fernan Nuñez[28] an attache of the Portuguese Embassy: I was called to Madrid to receive Instructions about the post to which I was appointed; His Majesty ordered that my entire expenses be paid until I arrived at my Post where an adequate salary should be assigned me; this was what was stated in my Commission, to which was added five hundred pesos for Table expenses, and in a Royal order of September 8, 1789, His Majesty ordered that my Salary should begin from the date of my arrival in this Capital which was on the 12th of April of that same year, which seems to me sufficient proof for the settlement of my salary as beginning from that date. Furthermore, I sent the Accountant a certificate from the Royal House of Trade in Cádiz which shows that up to the time of my departure for America I had received nothing on my salary. In Havana I drew one thousand pesos, which have been charged to me, as has that I drew in Campeche.

In regard to the two hundred pesos which I received in my name in Havana assigned for the transportation and other expenses of Mr. Jaques Dubois,[29] who also was commissioned to the Province of Louisiana, Your Lordship understands that this individual arrived with me, and as you already know the object of his journey and that it had to do with confidential matters, I shall add only that with the said two hundred pesos I paid his expenses in Havana during the three months that he was there; his trip, expenses in Campeche a month which we spent in that Port, and

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family moved to Natchez from Virginia in 1788 via Nassau, Pensacola, and New Orleans. Some twenty slaves had also come with the family. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, xxix, 257.

[25]The father of George Rogers Clark, now the father-in-law of O'Fallon.

[26]A. G. I., P. C., 41.

[27]Don Josef de Orue, accountant of the government in New Orleans.

[28]Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Rios, sixth County Fernan Nuñez, later ambassador to France in the opening days of the Revolution. *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, 28 vols. (Barcelona, 1887-1910), IV, 219.

[29]Jacques Dubois was the pseudonym of "Colonel" or "Doctor" James White while he traveled from New York to Havana and thence to New Orleans to further relations between the Cumberland and Holston settlements and Spain. See Ezpeleta to Valdés, March 3, 1789, in installment XI of these "Papers," in *Publications*, No. 19 (1947), 86. At the request of Don Diego Gardoqui, minister from Spain to the United States, Captain General Ezpeleta had advanced White two hundred pesos for expenses, but had entrusted its expenditure to Gayoso de Lemos.

to this Capital, where he still had enough to buy a saddle and other riding equipment. The said amount of two hundred pesos was put in my name in the Havana Office because it was not prudent to make mention of the said Dubois so as not to disclose in any way the fact that this individual was employed in matters of Government. In view of this you will please command that this amount be charged to secret expenses of the Royal Treasury, or in the way that it may be most properly paid, and that it shall be erased from my account from the date which I have given, according to His Majesty's orders.

May the Lord keep Your Lordship many years, New Orleans, November 4, 1791.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

MINOR TO GAYOSO, NATCHEZ, DECEMBER 12, 1791[30]

Natchez 12th Decbr 1791

My dear Friend and Govr.

In my last I mentioned to yr. Excellency the Arival of *Iteligana.*[31] I have taken every Step in my power to get him and Some of the Other Chiefs to go to Orleans, but I am of oppinion that none of them will go, that is those that will be wanting. the Old friend[32] Intended coming in with *Iteligana* but lost his horses and was disappointed that I have also been Inform'd off by Mr. Davenport[33] who left the Nation Some time Since *Iteligana,* there will be no difficulty in Getting the Old King here when ever your Excelly. may think Proper by only Sending him a few lines for that purpose but to Orleans all his friends Say he is determined never to go—Mr. G. P.[34] I believe Said little or nothing to *Iteligana,* for want of an Interpreter, Fulsom[35] is out ahunting and could not be found, which leaves me at a loss even to Know if what I have Said to him has been Justly told to him, *Iteligana* brought in with him 8 warriors and 6 women, Mr. G.P. ordered them to Get 2 Kegs of Taffia for *Iteligana* and 2 for his men one blanket for him and one for his wife, and a flask for each of the men and Women. After this he came to me and told me he was very much Mortified that he could not get a blanket apiece for his men that G.P. had Absolutely refused him and that 8 Blankets he must have for Which

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[30]A. G. I., P. C., 204. Stephen Minor was an Anglo-American resident of Natchez who became a Spanish subject.

[31]Chief Iteligana (sometimes Ytelaghana) of the Choctaws. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley,* II, 92-93, 224.

[32]Franchimastabe, the great chief or king of the Choctaws, was often referred to by the Spaniards as "the Old Friend" or "the Old King." His village was named Yasou.

[33]This may have been a reference to James Davenport, one of the landholders under Spain that later obtained confirmation of their grants from the United States. See *American State Papers, Public Lands,* I, 892, 903.

[34]Carlos Grand-Pré, commandant at Baton Rouge in the closing days of the American Revolution. He was later in command at Natchez before Gayoso was sent there with the rank of governor.

[35]Edmund Fulsome, a half-breed Choctaw chief. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* I, 662.

purpose he must Sell his horse for he would not think of riding a horse and his men Naked this cold Weather. I after reflecting a moment told him the King here had no blankets, and that was the reason Mr. G.P. did not give him any but that as he was my friend, and a man Esteem'd by your Excelly. that I would go and buy him 8 Blankets. This Circumstance and the Necessity of Satisfying for the present, that Chief I mention'd to the commissary, and told him that I would pay for the blankets or return as many more Should yr. Excelly. not approve of it, the blankets were bought as if they came from another. he Seem'd over Joy'd and thanked me Kindly for them, and went away Satisfyed.

The Chickasaws had just finished a large fort, and expect war dayly with the Creek's, by a letter here Inclosed from Mr. Howard[36] your Excellency will See Something Concerning the Situation of the present State of the Creek Nation, &c—

If your Excelly. Should think proper to write for the Chiefs to come in here the Chickasaw King[37] must be Sent for Also, for the Old King will do nothing without consulting him—

Macarty[38] has Agreed to do the house, not So Soon as yr. Excellency may perhaps want it, but as he agrees to do it So cheap, I thought best to let him have it—I have Sent for plank to the Mill to Close up and finish the room above agreeable to your Excelly. orders

There has been Some Oppertunity by which I have not wrote. pray do not think it is neglect it is only Owing to the distressed Situation of the family at the Cliffs, where I have been Some days, as Mr. Dick Ellis[39] is expected to die any moment, Flowers and Todd[40] have both given him over, and I believe it impossible he ever can recover—

There is a man arived yesterday and brought letters for me from the Old King, as I have been told, as Soon as I receive them I shall forward them on to your Excelly. and believe with every Sentiment of Esteem—
yr. Excelly. ever affectiate friend

Stephen Minor

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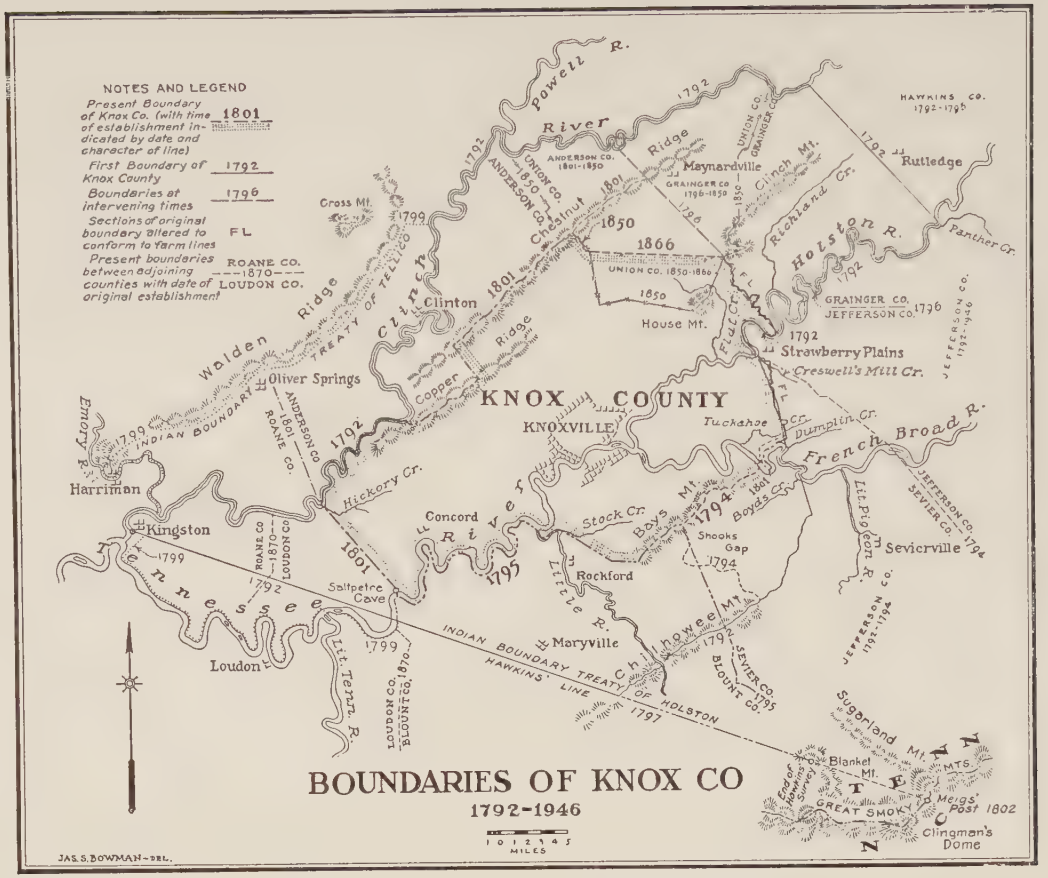
[36]Captain Carlos Howard, secretary of the government of East Florida.

[37]Chief Taskactoca (or Tascaotuca) was more familiarly called King of the Chickasaws. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, III, xv, 76.

[38]Probably Juan Bautista Macarty (or Macarte). The family had a number of prominent members in Louisiana and West Florida.

[39]Richard Ellis had owned as many as eighty-one slaves in the Natchez district as early as 1776. He was still a large landowner at the time of this letter. See Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 176.

[40]In *ibid.*, 176, Dr. Samuel Flower is mentioned as the owner of sixty-four slaves in 1776. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, 311, mentions him as a large producer of tobacco under Spain. The Dr. Todd seems to have been Edward Todd, also an important planter of the Natchez district. *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I, 602, 626, 902.



BOUNDARIES OF KNOX CO
1792-1946

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

III, Knox County, 1806[1]

Knox County was one of the first two counties created by the territorial government at Knoxville, on June 11, 1792.[2] The land was taken from Hawkins[3] and Greene Counties.[4] In 1795 Blount County was taken from Knox;[5] and in 1796 Grainger County[6] was taken from Knox and Hawkins; in 1801 Roane County was cut off,[7] and in the same year Anderson County was created from Knox and Grainger counties.[8] Not until 1850 was any other territory removed. In that year Union County was created from portions of Knox, Grainger, Anderson, Claiborne, and Campbell counties.[9] Upon its creation Knox County was a part of Washington District, but on March 12, 1793, along with Jefferson County,[10] it was made a part of the newly-created Hamilton District.[11]

For the settlement and early history the reader is referred to the East Tennessee Historical Society's *The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee,* edited by Mary U. Rothrock (Knoxville, 1946).

The following tax lists for 1806 are the earliest extant lists for Knox County. The original book in which these lists are recorded is in the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

No attempt has been made to make extensive identification of the names on these lists, for the sources both printed and manuscript available for historical, biographical, and genealogical information on these early residents and landholders are extensive. The records of Knox County, with the exception of some loose papers, have been preserved and are available in the courthouse at Knoxville. Many of the marriage bonds and licenses

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[1]For the introduction to this series see East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications (Knoxville), No. 23 (1951), 115-16. Hereafter cited E. T. H. S. *Publications.* In preparation of No. III, the compiler wishes to thank Mrs. Penelope Johnson Allen, Chattanooga; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville; and Prentiss Price, Rogersville, Tennessee.

[2]George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), iv-v. Hereafter cited Roulstone, *Laws.*

[3]Edward Scott (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee Including Those of North Carolina Now in Force From the Year 1715 to the Year 1820, Inclusive* (Knoxville, 1821), I, 378. Hereafter cited as Scott, *Laws.*

[4]*Ibid.*, 282.

[5]*Ibid.*, 60-61. See Blount County tax lists for 1801 in *Publications,* No. 24 (1952), 125-54.

[6]Scott, *Laws,* 95-97.

[7]*Ibid.*, 274

[8]*Ibid.* See Anderson County tax lists for 1802, in *Publications,* No. 23, 115-35.

[9]*Acts,* 1849-50 (ch. 61, sec. 1), 181.

[10]Jefferson County was created June 11, 1792, mostly from Greene County and a bit of Hawkins County. Roulstone, *Laws,* iv-v.

[11]*Ibid.*, vi.

were lost before they were recorded. The records in the county court clerk's office, including the minutes, wills, estate records, and marriages, are intact. The conveyances of property are kept in the office of register of deeds. The early conveyances, both warranty and trust deeds, are recorded in the same books, and are very well indexed. The records of the circuit and chancery courts are intact. The records of the supreme court excepting the last fifteen years have been moved to the new building of the Tennessee State Library and Archives at Nashville.

Typewritten copies of some of the early county records were made by the Tennessee Historical Records Survey. This project was initiated by the Work Projects Administration. The Tennessee State Library was the sponsoring agent with the University of Tennessee Library and the Daughters of the American Revolution Library as subscribers. At the end of the project the State Library was the only one with a complete set of the transcriptions, the other two libraries not having subscribed to certain items. The Survey also copied many church records and a few records in private ownership, some of them from Knox County.

The McClung Historical Collection has typewritten, photostatic, and microfilm copies of various records including microfilm copies of the population schedules of the federal decennial census records, 1830-1860, 1880. The census of 1850 has been published by Miss Laura E. Luttrell of Knoxville (Knoxville, 1951).

Very few Knox County records have been published. Some records were included in Mrs. Jeanette Tillotson Acklen's *Tennessee Records,* Vol. 1 (Nashville, 1933).

The county courts in Tennessee were authorized to levy a tax on property by a legislative act passed October 25, 1797,[12] in which the types of taxable property were listed and the method of taking the taxes was prescribed. Other acts were passed[13] amending minor provisions of this act, but it remained substantially the same until civil districts were established.

By the provisions of the act of 1797 white polls consisted of "all free males and male servants between the age of twenty one and fifty years"; slaves, "all slaves male and female, between the age of twelve and fifty years."

The general assembly on November 13, 1801, passed "An Act to authorize the court of Knox County to lay a tax for the building of a prison and stocks in Knoxville."[14]

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[12]*Ibid.*, 114-20.
[13]*Ibid.*, 250; Scott, *Laws*, I, 829.
[14]Roulstone, *Laws*, 293.

On Saturday, October 10, 1805, the court "proceeded to lay a Court and Jail tax Year 1806 which is laid as follows to Wit—[15]

	County Tax	Jail Tax
On each hundred acre of land	.25	.12½
On each Taxable Free poll	.25	.12½
On each Taxable Slave	.50	.12½
On each Stud kept for covering Mares	.50	1.
On each Merchant, Hawker Or Pedlar	5.00	

There is a total of 1245 names on these lists, which is of interest in contrast to the total population of Knox County according to the "Schedule of the whole number of Persons in the District of Tennessee," 1801.[16]

Key to Column Numbers

[1] Number of acres
[2] Free polls
[3] Slaves
[4] Lots
[5] Studs

TAX LIST 1806.

1. CAPTN BOOTH'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Allen and McCauley		1			
Anthony, John		1			
Allstot, Robert by N. Kearnes		1			
Adair, William		1			
Bright, John	200	1		1½	
Bearden, Richard[17]		1	5	1	
Bickham, Gittig by James Park				½	
Booth, Edwin E.[18]		1		½	
Blount College Trustees by Samuel Carrick	2				
Brown, William		1			
Bartholomew, Joseph[19]		1			
Burk, Isham		1			
Crozier, John[20]		1	3		

[15]Knox County Minutes of Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (Courthouse, Knoxville). There are indexed, typewritten copies in Old Records Department, Courthouse, and University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville.

[16]See illustration, f. 106.

[17](1771-June 16, 1845); a native of Granville County, N.C.; removed to Tennessee in 1802; a Methodist; kept a tavern in Knoxville located on the site of the present Andrew Johnson Hotel. *Knoxville Register*, June 18, 1845.

[18]Married October 16, 1808, Mrs. Alice Murphy, widow of Dennis Murphy; died November 17, 1824. Wilson's *Knoxville Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1808; *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 19, 1824.

[19](1764-May 11, 1831); a saddler; Revolutionary soldier. *Knoxville Register*, May 18, 1831.

[20]See biography in Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country*, (Knoxville, 1946), 403-04; obituary in *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 19, 1838.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Craighead, Robert[21]	500		1	1	
Cox, Lewis[22]		1	2		
Carter, William		1	1		
Charter, James	5	1			
Campbell, George W.[23]	2700	1	3	3½	
Campbell, Patrick[24]	3559¼	2	2	4⅞	
Campbell, James[25]		1			
Cowan, Nathaniel[26]	612	1	1	3	
Carter, Landon heirs[27] by James Charter				1	
Cormack, Edward		1			
Carrick, Samuel[28]	300	1	1		
Cash, Benjamin		1			
Dowler, Francis[29]		1		½	
Dardis, James[30]		1	2	½	
Deddle, John		1			
Davis, Amos		1			
Dardis, Thomas[31]		1			

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[21](June 27, 1751-May 7, 1821); captain in the Revolutionary War in Mecklenburg County, N.C.; removed to Tennessee, 1789; justice of the peace; elder in the First Presbyterian Church, Knoxville, in whose cemetery he is buried; married, 1773, Hannah Clark. James Geddes Craighead, *The Craighead Family: a Genealogical Memoir of the Descendants of Rev. Thomas and Margaret Craighead, 1658-1876* (Philadelphia, 1876), 74-75; *Knoxville Register*, May 15, 1821.

[22](Nov. 21, 1768-Nov. 18, 1833); a native of North Carolina; removed to Tennessee, 1796; married Nov. 9, 1809, Emily Holt, daughter of Robert Holt *(q.v.)*; lived on Kingston Pike at present Ten Mile Creek. *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 20, 1833.

[23](Feb. 9, 1769-Feb. 17, 1848); a native of the parish of Tongue, Scotland; emigrated with his parents to North Carolina in 1772; graduated from Princeton College, 1794; admitted to bar in North Carolina, and began practice in Knoxville; removed to Nashville where he had a long and distinguished career as a congressman, statesman, diplomat. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1944), III, 452; also articles and edited documents by Weymouth T. Jordan in E.T.H.S. *Publications*, Nos. 10 (1938), 13 (1941), 15 (1943), 19 (1947).

[24]A merchant; married July 3, 1800, Rhoda Ingles, daughter of Thomas and Eleanor (Grills) Ingles. George F. Mellen, "Thomas Ingles Again," *Knoxville* (Tenn.)*Sentinel*, Feb. 8, 1916.

[25](1772-Oct., 1837); merchant; in 1802 he advertised goods "from Baltimore . . . at his Store adjoining the Printing Office"; cashier, Branch Bank of Tennessee; elder, First Presbyterian Church. *Knoxville Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1802; *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 8, 1837.

[26](1763-Aug. 2, 1830); one of first two merchants of Knoxville; native of Ireland; died at Salem, Franklin County, Tenn. *Knoxville Register*, Aug. 11, 1830.

[27](1760-June 5, 1800); Revolutionary soldier; North Carolina entry taker; treasurer of Washington and Hamilton districts; resident of Carter County, Tenn., which was named in his honor; the county seat, Elizabethton named for his wife Elizabeth Maclin (1765-Feb. 27, 1842). For accounts of the Carter, Maclin, and related families see Octavia Zollicoffer Bond, *The Family Chronicle and Kinship Book* . . . (Nashville, 1928); Revolutionary War Pension File (National Archives, Washington, D. C.), W 900; Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, 5 vols. (Chattanooga, 1918-1928), II, 61-74.

[28](July 17, 1760-Aug. 17, 1809); pastor, Lebanon Presbyterian Church; president, Blount College. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 392-93.

[29]Merchant; in 1803 the firm of Dowler and Shall was located "opposite Mr. Hayne's [*sic*] tavern." *Knoxville Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1803.

[30](July 26, 1766-Dec. 25, 1846). *French Broad-Holston Country*, 407-09.

[31]Lawyer; brother of James Dardis *(q.v.)* French *Broad-Holston Country*, 407-08; *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, March 17, 23, April 29, 1810.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Dade, Townsend[32] by James Trimble			1		
Echel, Charles		1			
Fournier, N.H.S.[33] estate by James Charter				½	
Formwalt, Jacob		1		1	
Ferquhason, Robert		1			
Fleshart, Francis[34]		1		½	
Greer, Joseph by James Charter	410	2	9	4	
Grant [Rosicrans], Richard Rosey		1			
Glade, August		1			
Gamble, John N.[35]		1		2	
Haynes, Stephen[36]			5	1	
Hart, Robert		1			
Henley, David[37] by Hugh Stewart	970			15	
Hindman, James				1	
Hood, John B.[38]		1	1		
Hewitt, Nathaniel[39]		1			
Humes, Thomas[40]	770	1	2	2½	
Hillsman, John[41]	1576	1	1	5	
Harralson, William		1			
Hunt, Willson by James Charter	1½				
Johnston, Noble		1			
Johnston, Christopher		1	2		

[32]An attorney from King George County, Va., who practised a few years in East Tennessee and returned to Virginia.

[33]A native of France; physician; during the last illness of William Blount, Dr. Fournier lived in Blount's home; however, he preceded Blount in death.

[34]From Botetourt County, Va., where he married May 6, 1794, Elizabeth Wysong; died before 1812; his daughter, Elizabeth, married Henry Watterson of Hawkins County. Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800* (Abingdon, 1929), 509.

[35]A native of Pennsylvania; brought to Tennessee by Francis Alexander Ramsey as a tutor in his family; deputy county court clerk; lived on lot No. 32 in Knoxville; later removed to Fourth Creek at site of the present Bearden; died Nov. 14, 1818; his widow married John Hooke of Roane County, Tenn. James Gettys McGready Ramsey, Autobiography (MSS., typed copy, McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), 14; *Knoxville Register,* Nov. 17, 1818.

[36]Tavern keeper, at the "Sign of General Washington on Cumberland Street." *Knoxville Gazette,* Aug. 4, 1802.

[37]Agent of U. S. War Department. *French Broad-Holston Country,* 426-28; Samuel C. Williams, "Colonel David Henley," E.T.H.S. *Publications,* No. 18 (1946), 3-24.

[38]Printer; first printed the *Camden* (S. C.) *Intelligencer* in 1803; he came to Tennessee from Lincoln County, N. C., and in 1805 he published at Greeneville, the *Tennessee Express and Greeneville Monitor;* in 1806 he was printing *The Knoxville Gazette;* later he published at Rogersville, *The East Tennessee Gazette,* and the *Western Pilot;* in 1816 he removed to Huntsville, Ala., where he printed the *Huntsville Gazette.*

[39]A saddler.

[40]Early merchant; his son, Thomas W. Humes, became president of the University of Tennessee. *French Broad-Holston Country,* 431-32.

[41](Nov. 17, 1764-Dec. 8, 1850); a native of Amelia County, Va., where though a youth he served in the Revolutionary War; came to Tennessee and taught school at the Cumberland Settlement (present Nashville); returned to East Tennessee about 1793 and opened a store; about 1809 he removed to a farm on Third Creek in Knox County. *Knoxville Register,* Dec., 12, 19, 1850; J. J. Burnett, *Sketches of Tennessee's Pioneer Baptist Preachers* (Nashville, 1919), 231-33.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
King, William by John Crozier	200				
King and Crozier				4	
King, William and Co.		1			
Kearnes [Karns, Carnes], Nicholas		1	1	1¼	
Kimbull, John		1			
Lavender, John[42]	518	1	1	1¾	
Lareau [Larew], George		1			
Laton [Leighton], Patrick		1			
Long, William		1			
McCorrey, Thomas[43]		1	1	1	
Maclin, William[44] by Thomas McCorry				1	
May, Francis[45] by Thomas McCorry				1½	
McGhee, James		1			
McAffry, Terrence[46]		1		1½	
Morrow, William[47]	201	1		1	
McGuire, Patrick[48]		1			
McCay, Spruce[49] by James Charter	4280				
Miller, Pleasant M.[50]	5600	1	7	2	
Nickoll, Josiah[51]		1	1	1½	
Parker, Benjamin C.			1		
Park, James and William[52]	400	4	3	4	

[42](1773-April 1, 1826); married Feb. 11, 1796, Polly Gilliam, daughter of Devereaux Gilliam; removed to Philadelphia, Roane (now Loudon) County, Tenn. *Knoxville Register*, April 10, 1826.

[43]Owned the "Eagle Bend" Farm, in Anderson County; removed to Davidson, later Madison County, Tenn.

[44]Secretary of state of Tennessee, 1796-1810; died at his farm in Blount County, Tenn., Sept. 24, 1810. Bond, *Family Chronicle and Kinship Book, passim; Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, Sept. 29, 1810.

[45]A physician; resident of Nashville; married Mary McConnell, daughter of General James and Mary (Lawson) White; died at Nashville, Nov. 28, 1817; his widow married Judge John Overton, July 28, 1820. *Knoxville Register*, Dec. 9, 1817; Aug. 1, 1820.

[46](1770-April 8, 1830); a cabinet maker; he and his wife Martha (Patsy) Clopton McAffry are buried in the First Presbyterian Church Cemetery, Knoxville. *Knoxville Register*, April 14, 1830.

[47]Born Derry County, Ireland, Jan. 3, 1759; died March 24, 1830; buried First Presbyterian Church Cemetery; his wife was Isabelle Mebane, born Guilford Court House, N. C., March 7, 1781; died Sept. 17, 1854. *Knoxville Register*, March 31, 1830; tombstone inscriptions.

[48]Died Nov. 8, 1831, in Jefferson County, Tenn.; married a sister of Joseph Prigmore. *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 23, 1831.

[49]Resident of Salisbury, N. C.; son-in-law of Judge Richard Henderson and preceptor of Andrew Jackson.

[50]Lawyer, judge; a native of Campbell County, Va.; of Quaker parentage; married Mary Louisa Blount, daughter of Governor William and Mary Grainger Blount; after the death of Gov. Blount, he became guardian of Barbara Blount; removed to "Holly Hill," Madison County, Tenn., 1825; died in Gibson County, Apr. 26, 1849. *French Broad-Holston Country*. 456-57.

[51]A merchant of Knoxville; removed to Nashville where he was president of the Nashville Branch of the Bank of the United States; died May 31, 1833. *Impartial Observer* (Knoxville), Sept. 10, 1800; *Knoxville Register*, June 12, 1833.

[52]Brothers who were natives of County Donegal, Ireland; came to Knoxville in 1796, where they were life-long merchants; their firm's account books, 1803-46, are in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library; William Park died Aug. 31, 1846; James Park, Sept. 19, 1853. James Park, *The Family Record of James Park, Deceased, From His Marriage in 1804 down to March, 1907* (Knoxville, 1907); Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, III, 87-108.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Pritchett, Ephraim[53]		1			
Purris, John[54]		1			
Rawlings, Moses[55]		1			
Rhea, John[56]	520			2	
Reynolds, John		1			
Roulstone, George[57] estate by John Lavender	553		2	1½	
Roe, Walter ass.				1	
Reed, Henry		1			
Scott, Edward[58]		1	2	½	
Strong, Joseph C.[59]		1	1	½	
Strong, David		1			
Saunders, John		1		1	
Sharp, Jesse	100	1	1	1	
Steel, Samuel		1			
Sharpless, Jesse by James Park	200				
Sharky, Thomas	40	1			
Shawl, George		1			
Thatcher [Ellen] Widow by N. Kearnes				½	
Tinley, John		1		1	
Trimble, James[60]		1		½	
Webb, John[61]		1	2	2	
Wetzell, John H.[62]		1		1	
Wolf, George		1			
Whiteside, Jenkin[63]	40			1	
Wilson, George[64]		1	3	1	
Woods, Eathen by James Charter	38¼				

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[53]A captain; merchant of Nashville, died Sept. 15, 1822. *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 24, 1822.

[54]A prominent resident of Kingston; died September, 1829; ruling elder and first clerk of session, Bethel Presbyterian Church.

[55]Tavern keeper at the "Sign of the Indian King." *Knoxville Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1803.

[56]Congressman (1753-May 27, 1832); of Sullivan County, Tenn. See Marguerite B. Hamer, "John Rhea of Tennessee," E.T.H.S. *Publications*, No. 4 (1932), 35-44; also in her *Cameos of the South* (Philadelphia, 1940), 63-75.

[57]Publisher and editor of the *Knoxville Gazette*, the first printer in the territory now the state of Tennessee; first postmaster of Knoxville. Samuel C. Williams, "George Roulstone: Father of the Tennessee Press," E.T.H.S. *Publications*, No. 17 (1945), 51-60; *Knoxville Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1804; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 476-78.

[58](1772-Aug. 8, 1852); lawyer, jurist; compiler of *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Scott's Revisal) (Knoxville, 1821); removed to Mississippi. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 481-82.

[59](Oct. 3, 1775-Nov. 3, 1844); physician and prominent citizen of Knoxville. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 492-93; *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 13, 1844.

[60]Attorney; married Nov. 10, 1808, Letitia Clark, daughter of Thomas Norris Clark of Southwest Point (Kingston, Tenn.). Wilson's *Knoxville Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1808.

[61]Born Sept. 19, 1776, in Cumberland County, Pa.; died Knoxville, Oct. 28, 1848, and buried in cemetery of First Presbyterian Church; married first, Rebecca, daughter of George McNutt *(q.v.)*, owned and operated an early brickyard and tannery; built a home which is still standing (1954) at the southwest corner of State Street and Hill Avenue. Tombstone instriptions; *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 1, 8, 1848.

[62]Hatter of Knoxville. *Impartial Observer*, May 28, 1800.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
White, Moses[65]	800½	1	2		

2. CAPTAIN BISHOP'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Allbright, John	60				
Byram, Ebenezer, Senior[66]	213		1		
Byram, Ebenezer, Junior		1			
Bishop, Jacob		1			
Bayless, Hezekiah[67]	1022	1			
Bowman, John	140				
Braden, James[68]		1			
Braden, James Junior		1			
Bayles, John[69]	255	1			
Bishop, Matthew	400				
Bishop, Joseph		1			
Bishop, Stephen	300	1	1		
Bradshaw, Joseph		1			
Bayles, Daniel	196	1			
Bayles, George	100	1			
Carmichael, John	92	1			
Caldwell, Alexander[70]	400	1			
Caldwell, Benjamin		1			
Copeland, William	350				
Cartwright, William		1			
Cartwright, John		1			
Crippen, John	30	1			
Carmichael, Hugh	367				
Carmichael, Hugh Junior	75	1			
Copeland, Douglass		1	1		
Copeland, David			1		
Elliot, Thomas	171	1			
Elliot, Jacob	2	1			

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[63]Lawyer; moved to Nashville; became U. S. senator; died Sept. 24, 1822, in Russel's Valley, Ala. *Knoxville Intelligencer*, Oct. 8, 1822. At the time of his death he held large holdings of real estate in Tennessee, including the tavern at Bean's Station in Grainger County.

[64]Printer; publisher of *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette;* state senator; married in Knoxville, Dec. 31, 1799, Mrs. Margery (Greer) Johnson; removed to Nashville, where he printed the *Nashville Gazette;* a prominent Mason; died Nov. 10, 1848.

[65](April 22, 1775-May 30, 1830); son of James and Mary Lawson White; married Isabella McNutt, daughter of George McNutt *(q.v.)*. *Knoxville Register*, June 2, 1830;*Knoxville Chronicle*, June 2, 1830.

[66]Progenitor of a family which settled first in Greene County, while still a part of Washington County; one of the first settlers on Beaver Creek.

[67]A Revolutionary soldier who drew a pension; removed to Alabama.

[68]A Revolutionary soldier who served in North Carolina.

[69]Revolutionary War soldier who drew pension for service in Virginia militia. Rev. War Pension File.

[70](1755-May 24, 1830); Revolutionary War soldier. *Knoxville Register*, June 9, 1830.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Elliot, Israel	383½				
Ellis, Francis	291	1			
Frazier, Julian[71]	25	1	1		
Frazier, Thomas		1			
Frazier, Samuel[72]	471				
Frazier, Beriah[73]	143	1	2		
Frake, Michael	200				
Gammon, Harris[74]	250	1			
Gilliam, Spencer[75]	100	1			
Garen, John		1			
Geron, Joseph	380	1			
Gammon, John	50	1			
Gammon, Lewis		1			
Gault, Thomas	300	1	1		
Gray, Leven	125	1			
Hall, Thomas[76]	150	1	1		
Hall, Thomas Junior		1			
Hinds, Levi	250		1		
Hamilton, James		1			
Hunter, James	1¼	1			
Hinds, Levi Junior	150	1	1		
Henderson, Peter		1			
Havenridge, John		1			
Hamilton, Francis	283				
Human, Bazel	100	1			
Jackson, Jeremiah		1			
Jones, Jesse	100	1			
Julian, Stephen	129	1			
Julian, Benjamin		1			
Kirkpatrick, John		1			
Lumpkins, Robert	340		2		
Lay, James		1			
McCloud, Andrew		1			
McClain, Andrew		1			
McCloud, Robert		1			
Maxwell, Hugh	582	1			
McCloud, James	200	1			
Majors, Smith	297	1	2		

[71]Son of Samuel Frazier, *infra;* removed to Paris, Henry County, Tenn.

[72]A Revolutionary soldier who served in Battle of King's Mountain, married Rebecca Julian; removed to Greene County where he was a member of New Hope Monthly Meeting, Society of Friends; died at present Bearden, Knox County; his remains have been reinterred in the Highland Memorial Cemetery nearby.

[73]Son of Samuel Frazier, *supra;* married first, Ann Rees; second, Barbara Gibbs, daughter of Nicholas Gibbs *(q.v.);* removed to Rhea County, Tenn.

[74](1757-Dec. 28, 1843); Revolutionary soldier. *Knoxville Register*, Jan. 10, 17, 1844.

[75]Son of Thomas Gilliam, who was killed by Indians near Raccoon Valley Station, May 25, 1793.

[76]Revolutionary soldier born Mar. 1, 1758, in Orange County, N. C., where he served as private in militia; married Sept. 25, 1783, Nancy Hays; died July 21, 1833; name is perpetuated in Hall's Cross Roads, Knox County. Rev. War Pension File; *Knoxville Republican*, Aug. 7, 1833.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Owens, John	116				
Parker, Jesse	200				
Parker, Jonathan	300	1			1
Peery, George	884	1	4		
Ricketts, William		1			
Ricketts, Reuben		1			
Sidens, James	100	1			
Shell, Christian	300	1			
Sumpter, Thomas[77]		1			
Shoemaker, Evan	96	1			
Smith, Robert	100	1			
Smith, Henry		1			
Smith, Alexander	50				
Stephenson, Robert	25	1			
Tindell, William		1			
Tyler, Thomas		1			
Williams, Benjamin[78]	150				
Weatherly, Joseph		1			
Willson, Thomas		1			

3. CAPTAIN BOND'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Able, John		1			
Able, Cain		1			
Andrew, Samuel		1			
Barger, Jacob	150	1			
Bond, Stephen	300	1			
Bond, William		1			
Brooks, Samuel		1			
Brooks, Joseph[79]	150	1			
Boyd, Thomas	180				
Cowan, Joseph	100				
Cannon, John	100		2		
Cannon, Zachariah	122	1			
Cannon, Robert		1			
Cannon, Bartlett[80]	84	1	1		
Campbell, David[81]	161	1	1		

[77]Revolutionary War soldier who drew pension for service in North Carolina militia.

[78]Revolutionary War soldier who drew pension for service in Virginia militia.

[79]Son of John and Ann (Irwin) Brooks; married in Knox County, Mary Gamble, daughter of Robert and Mary (McElroy) Gamble; moved to Rhea County in 1806; became a member of the first court and captain of the militia district; died in 1810. Penelope Johnson Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *Chattanooga Times,* Dec. 3, 1933.

[80]Hatter living in Grassy Valley. *Knoxville Gazette,* Jan. 26, 1803.

[81]For identification of the various Campbells on these lists see Laura E. Luttrell, "Some Founders of Campbell's Station, Tennessee: A Genealogy of Alexander, David and James Campbell," E.T.H.S. *Publications,* No. 25 (1953), 89-110, No. 26 (1954), 107-31.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Campbell, David	868		4		
Campbell, David Junior		1	2		
Campbell, William		1			
Campbell, James	478	1	1		
Campbell, James		1			
Cowan, James		1			
Douglass, William	320	1			
Gillespie, Jacob[82]	100				
Gillespie, Thomas	93	1			
Gamble, Robert[83]	245	3			
Gamble, John	195	1			
Gilbreath, John[84]	1200	2	3		1
Gour, Thomas	180				
Gour, William		1			
Givens, Samuel	510		3		
Hall, Hilard by Wm. Lackey		1			
Johnston and McClure	200	2		½	
Kerr, William	200	1			
Kerr, Andrew		1			
Lackey, William	100				
Love, Robert[85]	300				
Low, David	190	1			
Means, Robert		1			
Mims, Daniel	93	1			
McGill, David	622	1			
Martin, James		1			
Martin, George[86]	440				
McCollum, John		1			
Montgomery, James, estate	360	2			
Moor, Tenan		1			
McNeill, John[87]	1327	1	6	1	
McAllister, Charles		1			
McClellan, John	700	1	2		
McCaleb, Archibald[88]	350	1			
Nugent, James		1			
Pelham, John estate by Wm. Lackey	100				
Phibbs, Richard		1			
Priggmore, Joseph[89]	100		2		
Russell, Matthew	350	1	1		

[82]Revolutionary War soldier who drew pension for service in Virginia militia.

[83]Revolutionary soldier born in Ireland in 1732 and came with his parents to Bucks County, Pa., then to Augusta County, Va.; an early settler of Knox County. See Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, Dec. 3, 1933.

[84]Lived on Turkey Creek; buried in Pleasant Forest Cemetery.

[85]Died in 1825. *Knoxville Register*, July 3, 1844.

[86](1747-Dec. 16, 1823); one of the first settlers in Grassy Valley. *Knoxville Register*, Jan. 9, 1824.

[87](c1743-July 23, 1833). *Knoxville Register*, July 31, 1833.

[88]Native of South Carolina; one of the founders of Campbell's Station; Revolutionary soldier; died Sept. 16, 1813. *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1813.

[89]From Pennsylvania where he married *circa* 1780, Keziah Moore; died in Roane County, c1818.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Rogers, Joseph	300	1	1		
Roane, Archibald[90]	414	1	4		
Russell, Andrew	466	1			
Smith, John	200	1			
Smith, Joshua		1	1		
Swan, George	150	1			
Sheerer, Peter by George Swan	242				
Sterns, George	118½	1	2		
Townsend, Taylor[91]	207	1	1		
Vickers, James	150	1			
Wells, Rosegill		1			
Whiteman, John		1			
Wallace, David B.		1			

4. CAPTAIN BOYD'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Adamson, Simeon	115				
Bales, John	157¼	1			
Bales, Jacob	93¾	1			
Boyd, William	100		1		
Boyd, John[92]		1			
Bean, Jacob		1			
Blackley, Charles	146				
Brown, Felix[93]	200	1			
Brown, William	200		4		
Brown, John		1			
Blue, Douglass	69	1			
Bales, Purnell	70	1			
Bowman, Samuel	400	1	1		
Clift, James	75	1			
Callen, Charles	200				
Callen, John		1			
Camron, Agness	150				
Cook, John		1			
Douglass, Edward	200	1			
Dodd, Josiah[94]	185		1		
Evans, Joseph	200	1			
Fulton, Hugh	100	1			

[90]Second governor of Tennessee (1801-1802); name is perpetuated in Roane County, Tenn. *Knoxville Register*, Jan. 22, 1819; *Western Monitor* (Knoxville), Jan. 12, 1819; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 640-41; for genealogy, William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, 1886), 539-44.

[91]From Augusta County, Va.; operated a ferry on Holston (Tennessee) River; died 1832.

[92](1776-Sept. 15, 1846); a captain of militia. *Knoxville Standard*, Sept. 22, 1846.

[93]Married daughter of Gawen Leeper of Hawkins County; lived in McPheeters Bend, Hawkins County, 1787; son of William Brown *(infra)*.

[94]Married Mary Luttrell, daughter of Richard Luttrell of Amherst County, Va.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
George, James		1			
Grant, Thomas	100	1			
Huntsman, Jacob			2		
Hadley, William	50				
Howell, David W.	900	1			
Harralson, James	255	1			
Hippingstall, Joseph	190				
Hackney, Benjamin	441	1	1		
Lavis, John		1			
Longwith, Reuben	289	1			
Leaky, William	331½				
Leaky, John		1			
Luttrell, William	150	1			
Leaky, Levy	565	1			
Mulvany, William		1			
Mulvany, Clary	100				
Manifold, Benjamin[95]	1250				
McMillin, John	200	1			
Mason, James	50				
Manifold, George		1			
McMahon, John	130	1			
Mowry, Peter	300	1			
McClure, Robert	146	1			
McMillan, Alexander[96]	2420½		2		
Moon, Jonah	400	1			
Newman, Edmond	147	1			
Pursley, William	450	1	3		
Patton, Thomas	150	1			
Roberts, Jacob	302¼	1			
Roberts, Moses	100	1			
Raper, Jacob		1			
Ruth, Edward	256	1			
Ransbarger, John	100	1			
Scott, Wilson	250	1			
Stanley, Joseph	100	1			
Smith, John		1			
Steel, Peter	170				
Sample, Samuel[97]	183				
Taylor, Andrew		1			
Todd, Samuel	120	1	1		
Underwood, John	128¾	1			
Underwood, George	100	1			

[95]A native of York County, Pa.; came to Knox County about 1797 settling on the French Broad River where a station was established; operated a mill in which he was fatally injured, Sept. 23, 1820; a brother-in-law of Abraham McCleary *(q.v.)*. J. B. Manifold, *The Story of Benjamin and Annabel Manifold and Their Environments and Descendants* (Greenacres, Wash., 1953).

[96](1750-Aug. 23, 1837); Revolutionary soldier. *Knoxville Register*, Aug. 30, 1837; for account of family see Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, I, 152-66; also Luttrell, "Some Founders of Campbell Station," *loc. cit.*

[97]Revolutionary soldier who drew a pension for his service in Virginia militia.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
White, James	100				
White, John		1			1
White, James, Junior	130	1			
Walker, George[98]	100	1			
Walker, Prudence	400				
Witt, John, Senior[99]	150		2		
Witt, Jesse	166	1			
Watt, Joseph	300				

5. CAPTAIN CHILES COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Ayres, David	640	1			
Ayres, Chastity	516				
Armstrong, Joseph		1			
Chiles, Roland[100]	609	1	3		
Chiles, John[101]	50	1			
Childress, John	130	1			
Crain, Benjamin		1			
Council, Hodges	200	1	1		
Council, Jesse[102]	230				
Council, John	210	1			
Council, Matthew	100	1			
Council, Isaac		1			
Davis, George	100	1			
Farmer, David	100	1			
Frost, Joseph	98	1			1
Fuson, Thomas	250	1			
Goad, Thomas		1			
Goad, William		1			
Grason, Jesse		1			
Hendrex, Garret	300				
Hendrex, Luke	200	1			
Hendrex, Morgan		1			
Haston, David	111	1			
Hall, Samuel	100	1			
Hackworth, Augustine[103]	50				
Johnston, Isaac		1			
Johnston, Francis	150				
Killion, Henry		1			
Litel, Andrew		1			

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[98]Died Sept. 11, 1822. *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 24, 1822.

[99](1740-1825); Revolutionary soldier from Amherst County, Va.

[100]Died 1825 in Anderson Co., Tenn. *Knoxville Register*, Aug. 7, 1844.

[101]Captain in War of 1812. "Died recently in Anderson County." *Knoxville Register*, Dec. 30, 1846.

[102]Will probated Jan. 1831, Knox County, Tenn., Estate Book, V, 34.

[103]Revolutionary War soldier who previously had served with Virginia troops at Battle of Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Lea, Samuel	108	1			
Low, Aquilla Senior[104]	400		5		
Low, Aquilla Junior					
Low, Richard	293	1	1		
Low, Caleb	640	1			
Matheny, Luke	100				
Matheny, Robert		1			
Matheny, John		1			
Maybury, George[105]	460	1			
Nothren, William					
Pruitt, Isaac	390	1			
Read, Thomas	210	1	3		
Roane, William	600	1			
Roach, James	100	1			
Scott, James[106]	350	1			
Scott, Laurence	200	1			
Scott, Garrett		1			
Terry, Micaijah [*sic*]		1			
Willson, Richard	100				
Woolton, Richard		1			
Woolton, John		1			
Woolton, Benjamin		1			
Woolton, William	325				
Yarnell, Joseph[107]	150				
Yokeham, Jacob	240	1			

6. CAPTAIN CONWAY'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Alldridge, Nathan	100				
Alldridge, William	97	1			
Bell, William[108]	500	1	2		
Bruar, William	200				
Bruar, John		1			
Branham, Edward		1			
Byram, Levi	86½	1			

[104]Will proved July, 1819; Caleb Low and John Callaway, executors. Estate Book, III, 99; *Knoxville Register*, July 6, 1819.

[105]Revolutionary soldier, born Oct. 1760, in New Jersey; died 1836 in Perry County, Ala. Rev. War Pension File.

[106]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension in Knox County for his service in Orange County, N. C.

[107](1764-Aug. 20, 1826); son of Daniel Yarnell, Sr., of Knox County; lived on Beaver Creek. *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 6, 1826. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree, *loc. cit.*, Sept. 29, 1935.

[108]Will proved Oct. 1813; member of family for whom Bell's Campground was named. On April 7, 1810, John Menifee made a deed to two acres of land lying north of Beaver Creek to John Childress *(q.v.)*, Soloman McCampbell, Jeremiah Tindall, Daniel Yarnell, Michael Yarnell, George Lucas, and Thomas Wilson, trustees, for the purpose of building a meeting house and campground to be free to all religious denominations. Knox County, Tenn., Estate Book, III, 67.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Conner, William	91	1			
Conway, Charles		1			
Childress, Robert	340	1			
Childress, John[109]	3870	1			
Childress, Mitchell[110]	264				
Childress, William		1			
Conner, William	120	1	1		
Cotterel, John		1			
Campbell, Lewis		1			
Cox, Curd[111]		1	1		
Dever, James		1			
Duffell, William		1			
Elliott, James		1			
Edmonson, Samuel		1			
Foster, Michael		1			
Ferguson, James		1			1
Hanson, Jonathan		1			
Husbans, Harmon		1			
Hill, Henry					
Ingram, Purnell	474	1			
Julien, Rene	100	1			
Julien, John		1			
Jentry, Aaron		1			
Low, Robert		1			
Lucas, George	800	1			
Lucas, George for Peter B. Stuart	470				
Lucas, George for Betsy Sapping	470				
Lucas, George for Abigail Lucas	340				
Lucas, Robert	600				
Lewis, James		1			
Lawson, William		1			
Lawson, Robert		1			
Menefee, John[112]	1718	2	6		
McLane, Joseph	400	1			
Millican, James		1			
Millican, John	117	1			
McClean, Stephen		1			
McClean, William		1			
Narramore, John		1			
Ogg, Daniel		1			
Pate, Anthony		1			
Renshaw, John		1			

[109]Revolutionary War soldier who drew a pension for service in the Virginia militia; in 1813 John Childress, Sr., lived on Bull Run about three miles above Thos. Manifee's Mill. *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* Oct. 25, 1813; Rev. War Pension File.

[110]Revolutionary War soldier who drew pension for service in North Carolina militia. Rev. War Pension File, S 426.

[111]Revolutionary War pensioner, born 1762, in Charlotte County, Va. Rev. War Pension File, S 3169.

[112]See sketch in Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1927), 308.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Renshaw, William		1			
Roysdon, Robert[113]		1			
Renshaw, Moses		1			
Roads, John		1			
Stowell, George	150				
Tindall, Jeremiah	150		1		
Tindall, Samuel	180	1			
Tivis, Robert for T. Hart	3000				
Woods, Ephraim	200	1			
Woods, Joseph	150	1			
Woods, Zebulan		1			
Williams, Jonathan		1			
Yarnell, Mordicai	67	1			

7. CAPTAIN COX'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Buckner, Ricey		1			
Buckner, John		1			
Buckner, Presley[114]	200	1			
Bletcher, William	100				
Brannam, Edward		1			
Cox, Samuel	700	1	3		
Clayton, Jesse		1	1		
Campbell, Andrew		1			
Davis, Chesley		1			
Doyle, Stephen	100				
Davis, George		1			
Easly, Samuel	400	1			
Ellis, Robert	100	1			
George, Samuel		1			
George, Traverse	150	1			
Hankins, Abraham[115]	320	1			
Hambleton, Isaiah		1			
Hankins, David	250	1			
Hubbs, John	250	1			
Higgins, John	100	1			
Hankins, John		1			
Heath, William	123	1			
Isom, John		1			
Johnson, George	200	1			
Jones, Isaac		1			
Kizer, Peter		1			
Love, Joseph[116]		1			

[113]Also Risden; an early surveyor.
[114]Removed from Sullivan to Knox County, then to Indiana where he died.
[115]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension for service in Virginia militia.
[116](1779-June 3, 1831); died at his residence in the Southern Liberties of Washington, Rhea County. *Knoxville Register,* June 8, 1831.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Mitchell, John		1	3		
Miller, John[117]	1076		3		
McBride, Pleasant	100	1			
Mitchell, William		1			
McPherson, Samuel		1			
Nation, Abraham		1			
Nation, Thomas	150				
Nation, Edward		1			
Newport, Richard	100				
Pate, Anthony		1			
Reames, Bartlett		1			
Smith, Robert		1			
Smith, Joseph		1			
Smith, Joel		1			
Skaggs, Charles Junior	50	1			
Skaggs, Charles Senior	100				
Skaggs, Eli	620	1			
Skaggs, James	170	1			
Vaughn, William		1			
Vaughn, Reuben		1			
Willson, Jeremiah	75	1			

8. CAPTAIN DUNLAP'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Alt, Jacob	50	1			
Alt, Michael[118]	204	1			
Alvis, Walter	7974				
Alvis, Walter for George T. Cooper	896				
Alt, George	117	1			
Adair, John[119]	1190		3		
Anderson, William[120]	997½	3	2		
Anderson, William Ex. of Andrew McCampbell	379				
Berry, Josiah[121]		1			
Bowen, William	309	1			
Bounds, Francis	50	1			

[117](1747-Aug. 25, 1832); Revolutionary soldier known as "Racoon" John; married Eve, daughter of Lewis Widner. *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 12, 1832.

[118]Will made March 28, 1816, proved April, 1827, names sons, George, Jacob, Conrad, Frederick, John; wife, Mary, and daughter, Charity, who married Henry Baker and had six children. Estate Book, IV, 299.

[119](1731-Feb. 24, 1827); North Carolina entry taker of Sullivan County. *Knoxville Register*, March 28, 1827; *The Enquirer* (Knoxville), March 28, 1828. Estate Book, IV, 288 (April 5, 1824).

[120]Revolutionary War soldier; served in Rockbridge County, Va.; died Dec. 17, 1830, aged about 71 years. *Knoxville Register*, Dec. 22, 1830; Estate Book, V, 42.

[121]Died October 26, 1806; his widow, Nancy, married Michael Davis of Knox County, Dec. 17, 1808. Michael Davis' homemade arithmetic books containing a family record is in the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Bounds, Francis agent for Jesse Bounds estate	250		3	1	
Brooks, Moses[122]	250	1			
Brooks, Moses agent for Alexander McNutt	140				
Bennett, Daniel		1			
Breeze, James	150	1			
Crawford, Moses	290				
Chapman, Thomas[123]	700	1			
Chapman, Miles	680	1			
Chapman, Asahel	320	1			
Carrithers, Andrew	200	1			
Crawford, Samuel	200	1	1		
Crowder, Greenham	107	1	3		
Clark, Thomas N. by J. Love	1160				
Dodd, James		1			
Davis, James estate by Robert Houston	150	1	1		
Dunlap, Hugh[124]	160	1	4		
Dunn, Francis by Jesse Sharp	200				
Emerson [Emmerson], Thomas[125]	220	1	6		
Edmonson, John	150	1			
Emmerson, Littleton T.		1			
French, Henry		1			
Green, James		1			
George, Soloman[126]		1			
Grills, Elliott[127]	353	1	3		
Garner, John		1			
Gibbs, George		1			
Hobson, George	450	1			
Hankins, Margaret			2		
Houston, Robert[128]	1509	1	4	1½	
Jones, Esther	200				
Kimbrel, Charles		1			
Kimbrel, Peterson		1			
Kearnes, Charles	200	2			

[122]Son of John and Ann (Irwin) Brooks, born April 1, 1760, in Augusta County, Va., Jan. 25, 1830; fought in the Battles of King's Mountain and Guilford Court House; removed to Greene County, N. C., and in 1787 to what is Knox County; married in 1787 or 1788 Agnes (Gamble) Fowler (June 9, 1765-Aug. 2, 1826), widow of Robert Fowler, Jr., who died in Washington County, Tenn., in 1784, and daughter of Robert and Mary (McElroy) Gamble. By her first husband she had one daughter, Esther Ann Fowler, who married Samuel Fleming, of Knox County. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, Dec. 24, 1933.

[123]First register of Knox County; a native of Pennsylvania, he and his family were originally Quakers, but were disowned because of their participation in civil and military affairs.

[124]Early merchant; married June 12, 1794, Susannah, daughter of Capt. Devereaux Gilliam *(q.v.)*; removed to Paris, Henry County, Tenn. See biography of a son, Richard G., in *French Broad-Holston Country*, 412-13.

[125]First mayor of Knoxville; died at Jonesboro. *Knoxville Register*, Aug. 2, 1837; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 413-15.

[126](1758-Oct. 30, 1830). *Knoxville Register*, Dec. 15, 1830.

[127]Son of John Grills of Hawkins County.

[128](1765-April 2, 1834); first sheriff of Knox County. *Knoxville Register*, April 9, 1834; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 430-31.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Love, Samuel	500	1	2		
Lareau, George	220				
Lareau, Abraham	180	1			
Love, Joseph	321	1	1		
Lister, Reuben		1			
Massingale, Michael[129] by R. Houston	400				
Mooris, William		1			
Murphy, Robert	165				
Marshall, Thomas	251½	1			
Morton, Jesse		1			
McCampbell, Andrew	584				
McCampbell, William	200	1			
Moor, John	110				
Massey, Peter		1			
Masterson, Aron		1			
Monkey, Henry	100	1			
McKinley, Samuel[130]	150	1			
McNutt, George[131]	320		4		
Massey, Thos.		1			
McSpadden, Archibald by John Love	200				
Morris, Nimrod		1			
Moor, Jacob		1			
Martin, John	150				
Ozburn, Isaac		1			
Russell, John by Thomas Emmerson	200				
Stout, Abraham		1			
Shedderly, Michael[132]	100	1			
Schrader, Jacob	200	1			
Sheets, Daniel by E. Grills		1			
Teel, Edward	181¾		2		
Terry, John	130				
Vernon, Solomen		1			
Vernon, Isaac		1			
Wheel, Benjamin	836	1	4		
White, Henry	280	1			
Waggoner, John[133]	250	1			

[129]Born March 1, 1756, Presumably in Northampton County, N. C.; came to Watauga in 1770; Revolutionary soldier; moved to Buffalo Creek, Grainger County, 1789. S. E. Massengill, *The Massengills, Massengales and Variants* (Bristol, 1931), 202-06.

[130]Born 1755 in Chester County, Pa., removed to Sullivan County, Tenn., 1781, and to Knox County, in 1800; married 1790 Prudence Campbell: died Jan. 16, 1845. *Knoxville Register*, Jan. 29, 1845; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 449.

[131]Born 1751 in Ireland; lived in Rockbridge County, Va., where he served in the Revolution, taking part in the Battle of King's Mountain; removed shortly after Revolution to what is now Jefferson County, Tenn., then to Knox County; died Jan. 5, 1823. *Knoxville Register*, Jan 7, 1823; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 451-52.

[132]Born 1778 in Pennsylvania; died Sept. 21, 1846. *Knoxville Standard*, Sept. 22, 1846.

[133](1744-Oct. 13, 1824); one of the founders of Macedonia Methodist Church, the oldest Methodist Church in Knox County. *Knoxville Register*, Oct. 15, 1824; *Knoxville Enquirer*, Oct. 20, 1824.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Whitechurch, William		1			
Wells, Stephen		1			
Welker, Jacob[134]	188				
White, James[135]	1471		4	4	
Williams, John[136]		1		1	
White, Hugh L.[137]	395	1	4	3	
White, Andrew	35	1	6	1	

9. CAPTAIN HARDIN'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Ashworth, Joseph	445	1			
Blan, John		1			
Brown, Sylvanus		1			
Catchem, Joseph	1631/3	1			
Catchem, Edward	365	1			
Courtney, John		1			
Catchem, Hugh	100	1			
Courtney, Jonathan	198	1			
Davis, Walter		1			
England, Ezekiel	250	1	1		
England, John	200	1			
England, Joseph		1			
Fulsher, Carson	228				
Grayson, John	200	1			
Gallagher, George	600	1			
Grayson, Benjamin		1			
Hardin, James	550	1	2		
Hambright, John[138]	200	1			
Hambright, Benjamin		1	1		
Hellums, John	237		2		

[134]Progenitor of the Welcker family of Tennessee; the Welcker family papers are in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

[135]Founder of Knoxville; son of Moses White of Rowan County, N. C., where he was born in 1747; married Mary, daughter of Hugh Lawson. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 503-05. Calvin Morgan McClung of Knoxville was a descendant and collected many notes on the family, now in the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, which also has the family Bible of James and Mary Lawson White.

[136]Son of Joseph and Rebeckah Williams, born in Surry County, N. C., Jan 29, 1778; married Melinda, daughter of James and Mary Lawson White; became U. S. senator; died at Knoxville, Aug. 10, 1837. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 505-06.

[137]Son of James and Mary Lawson White, born Oct. 30, 1773, in Rowan, now Iredell County, N. C.; U. S. senator and presidential candidate; died at Knoxville, April 10, 1840. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 501-02; also articles by L. P. Gresham in E.T.H.S. *Publications*, Nos. 18 (1946), 19 (1947).

[138]John H. Hambright, son of Col. Frederick and Sarah (Hardin); born in North Carolina March 17, 1762; died in McMinn County, Feb. 6, 1830; married Oct. 28, 1784, Nancy Black of North Carolina; Revolutionary soldier; in Battle of King's Mountain; Sarah Hardin was a sister of Colonel Joseph Hardin *(q.v.)*. John Morgan Wooten, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *Chattanooga Times*, December 30, 1934.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Hellums, William		1			
Hellums, William	229	1			1
Hightower, Joshua		1			
Hardin, Gibson	300	1	1		1
Hardin, Amos[139]	800	1			
Howard, Reason	200	1			
Holt, Joel	125	1			
Hellums, John	140	1			
Hardin, Benjamin	200	1			
Howard, Thomas		1			
Halmark, Thomas[140]		1			
Howard, Samuel		1			
Johnston, Ambrose		1			
Lee, Permit Senior	100				
Lee, Permit Junior		1			
Lee, Abraham		1			
Love, John		1			
Lewis, Henry		1			
Lewis, Samuel	100				
Low, Andrew R.		1			
McCart, Robert		1			
Maxwell, David	930	1	5		
Maxwell, John	164	1			
Meloney, John		1			
Phipps, John	80				
Pate, Stephen	100	1			
Pruitt, Jacob	300	1	3		
Pepper, James		1			
Rogers, Thomas	275	1			
Rucker, Austin		1			
Rucker, Tiner		1			
Rutherford, Samuel		1			
Steel, William		1			1
Steel, Ninian	396	1			
Steel, John	200	1			
Shelton, Cuthbert	200	1			
Scarborough, James	100	1			
Shannon, Charles		1			
Smith, James		1			
Scroggins, Henry		1			
Scarborough, Robert	100	1			
Tiner, Lewis[141]		1			
Tirpin, Martin		1			
Walker, Buckner	50	1			
Walker, Jesse	55	1			
Walker, George	225				
Willson, Joseph		1			

[139](1780-Aug. 25, 1840). *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 16, 1840.

[140]A constituent member of the Mouth of Richland Baptist Church in present Grainger County, Tenn.

[141]Removed to Hamilton County, Tenn., where he was living in 1830.

10. CAPTAIN HAISLET'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Anderson, William	150	1			
Burnett, Joseph	100				
Burnett, Benjamin	300	1			
Bowman, John	50	1			
Bowman, Samuel	60	1			
Bodkin, Hugh	150	1			
Brown, John		1	1		
Cruize, James[142]	200	1	1		
Chesnut, Robert	25				
Colker, Charles	100	1			
Cruse, Walter	100	1			
Cruise, Allison		1			
Cunningham, William	183	1			
Carpenter, Thomas		1			
Cruise, Gideon[143]	100	1			
Crank, Thomas		1			
Cozby, James[144]	640		1		
Cozby, John[145]		1			
Dunlap, Samuel	100	1			
Dunlap, George	100	1			
Dozier, Peter	150	1			
Dunn, William[146]	100				
Evans, William	100				
Finley, John	50				
Green, Jesse	400				
Gorton, Elijah	250	2			
Gillespie, James	70				
Hill, John		1	1		
Houston, Robert	150	1			
Haislet, George W.		1			
Hensley, George W.		1			
Huffacre, George[147]	400	2			
Hinds, William	200				
Johnston, James	100				
Jones, Jeremiah[148]	50	1			

[142]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension in Knox County.

[143]Revolutionary soldier from Amherst County, Va.; died Aug. 12, 1834. Rev. War Pension File, S 39371.

[144]Physician; Revolutionary soldier, rescuer and friend of John Sevier; died in Hamilton County, Feb. 13, 1831. *Knoxville Register*, Feb. 23, 1831.

[145]Son of Dr. James Cozby; married Aug. 1808, Abigale McBee; removed to Rhea County, Tenn.

[146]Revolutionary soldier who drew a pension for service in the Virginia militia; died at Knoxville, Dec. 19, 1837. *Knoxville Register*, Dec. 27, 1837.

[147]Born in Pennsylvania, Aug. 7, 1757; Revolutionary War soldier; took part in Battle of Long Island Flats, 1776, for which he received a pension; died Nov. 8, 1838, in Knox Co. *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 28, 1838; for an account of the family see Hugh D. Huffaker, *History and Genealogy of Michael Huffaker and His Descendants in America* (Chattanooga, 1927).

[148]Removed to Hamilton County, where he was first register, 1819.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Kerr, Samuel	80	1			
Keener, Woolrick		1			
Kennedy, James	274	1			
Keener, Peter[149]	100				
Long, Robert	150	1			
Legg, Matthew	50	1			
Montgomery, Samuel	100	1			
Monday, William	100		2		
Monday, Joshua		1			
Monday, William Junior		1			
McCammon, John[150]	200	1			
McCall, John	150				
McKeehan, James	50	1			
McBath, Robert	150	1			
Murphy, Dennis[151]	200		8		1
Moor, James	50				
Maxey, Shaderick	125	1			
Pain, Chesley	25	1			
Prior, Harris		1			
Rhea, Archibald	300	1	1		
Reed, Jerimiah	450	1			
Reed, Solomon	100	1			
Reid, Jacob	50	1			
Shook, William[152]	150				
Shook, William	100	1			
Shook, Abraham	100	1			
Shook, Isaac	50	1			
Shook, Jacob		1			
Shook, Harman		1			
Swisher, Michael		1			
Slatery, Patrick	100				
Wrinkle, George	150				
Wrinkle, George Junior	30	1			
Willson, Isaac	100	1			
Wrinkle, Jacob		1			
Waterhouse, Richard G.[153]		1			

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[149]For an account of the family see R. C. d'Armand, *The Dearmond Families of America* (Knoxville, 1954).

[150]Died April 23, 1838, in the 92nd year; member of Associate Reformed or "Seceder" Presbyterian Church, located on present Sevierville Pike, now extinct. *Knoxville Register*, May 2, 1838.

[151]Died before Oct. 1808, when his widow married Major Edwin E. Booth. Wilson's Knoxville Gazette, Oct. 19, 1808.

[152]Member of family which came from Hampshire County, Va., now West Va.; name is perpetuated in Shook's Gap.

[153]Born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey; removed to Knox, then to Rhea County, Tenn., where he was a large landowner and prominent promoter of Tennessee Valley; died March 7, 1827. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, Jan. 20-27, 1935; *Knoxville Register*, March 21, 1827.

11. CAPTAIN JACK'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Armstrong, Robert[154]	170	1	2		
Armstrong, John	500	1	1		
Amonet, John	250	1			
Brock, Lewis		1			
Baldwin, William		1			
Barclay, Felix	94	1			
Brock, Pearson		1			
Brownen, James		1			
Brock, George	200		1		
Bayles, Caleb	100	1			
Campbell, Alexander	300	1	1		
Craighead, Thomas[155]		1			
Carpenter, John	126	1			
Davenport, William			2		
Dunlap, James		1			
Dodd, William	30	1			
Faris, Richard		2	1		
Fisher, William	100	1			
Fisher, Daniel		1			
Gillespie, Thomas	440	2	2		
Gilliam, Deverix[156]	220	1	4		
Gibson, Samuel	235				
Gibson, John	235	1			
Jack, Jeremiah[157]	296¾	1	1		
Jack, George		1			
Jones, George J.		1			
Luttrell, James[158]	157		1		
Luttrell, John[159]	124	1			
Luttrell, William		1			
McNutt, John	500	2			
McNutt, Robert		1			
Merryman, Francis[160]	200	1			
Newman, Jacob[161]	250	1			
Newman, John		1			

[154]For account of members of the Armstrong family see Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, I, 5-24.

[155](Mar. 6, 1781-Sept. 16, 1839); son of Capt. Robert Craighead; married Dec. 23, 1803, Mary Gillespie; died in Hamilton County. *Craighead Family*, 99.

[156]Usually Devereaux. Revolutionary soldier; settled Gilliam's Station at the fork of the French Broad and Holston rivers. J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee* (reprinted, Kingsport, 1926), *passim*.

[157]Born Nov. 13, 1750, in Washington County, Maryland; moved to Nolichucky, 1778, and then to present Knox County; died June 23, 1833. *Knoxville Register*, June 26, 1833.

[158]Revolutionary soldier; ancestor of James C., James C., Jr., and Samuel B. Luttrell, all mayors of Knoxville. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 440-42.

[159]Married Annis Jackson, daughter of Peter Jackson; ancestor of John King Luttrell, congressman from California.

[160]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension for his service in the Virginia militia; died July 31, 1826. *Knoxville Register*, Aug. 2, 1826.

[161]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension for service in Pennsylvania militia.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Null, Henry	131	1			
Patterson, Robert[162]	249	1	1		
Pickle, Christian[163]	320				
Pickle, Christian Junior		1			
Pickle, John		1			
Pickle, Henry		1			
Robertson, Willoughby	106	1			
Tenor, Jacob		1			
Witt, George	300	3			
Wolf, George[164]	200				

12. CAPTAIN LONAS' COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Brown, Thomas	210	1	2		
Bogan, William	550	1			
Bell, Samuel	160	1			
Childress, James		1			
Carruth, Rachael[165]	125		1		
Carter, Joseph	650				
Cox, James		1			
Coker, Demsy		1			
Carruth, William	96				
Craig, James W.[166]	200	1	1		
Carmichael, George	507	1			
Durham, Thomas		1			
England, Aron		1			
Fouts, David		1			
Fouts, George		1			
Greer, Thomas	335	1	4		
Gentry, Jesse	100	1			
Gray, Peter		1			
Gilbreath, David		1			
Gilbreath, Thomas		1			
Gentry, William		1			

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[162]Born in Mecklenburg County, N. C., Dec. 17, 1768; served in Battle of King's Mountain; after close of Revolutionary War moved to Knox County while it was still a part of Hawkins; married *circa* 1787 or 1788, Rhoda Witt (born Dec. 11, 1776), daughter of Abner Witt *(q.v.)*. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, Dec. 17, 1933.

[163]Will proved July, 1814. Estate Book, II, 112.

[164]Revolutionary soldier who served in Pennsylvania.

[165]Born 1738 in Pennsylvania; prisoner of Indians for seven years; married three times; came to Knoxville from North Carolina; died May 13, 1823. *Knoxville Register*, May 16, 1823.

[166]Son of Robert Craig; born Dec. 3, 1768, in Lancaster County, Pa.; removed to Washington County, Va., then to Knox County, Tenn., where he died Dec. 1, 1846. *Knoxville Register*, Dec. 9, 1846.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Hudiburgh, Thomas[167]	449	1			
Henderson, Daniel[168]	280				
Horn, Jacob	400	1			
Hickey, Cornelius[169]	90	1			
Harmon, Jacob		1			
Hoke, Michael	100	1			
Houston, Peter		1			
Haney, Spencer		1			
Haney, Samuel		1			
Knave [Nave], Jacobs estate by Jacob Lonas	133				
Kearnes, Henry	213	1			
Keeth, John		1			
Kenny, Jacob	90				
Kearnes, Michael		1			
Kearnes, Valentine	545	1			
Lonas, Henry[170]	734	1	2		
Lonas, Jacob	250	1	1		
Looney, Moses[171]	320		3		
Luttrell, James C.[172]	180	1	1		
Looney, Peter	115	1			
Murray, Robert[173]	237	1		½	
Monday, John		1	1		
Miser, George	150	1			
McKiddy, James		1	2		
Miller, James	3630	2	14	1	
McCullough, James	20		1		
Miller, Robert	600	1	2		
Nooris [Norris], Samuel		1			
Pruitt, Martin	211				
Pruitt, Isaac		1			
Pruitt, Jacob		1			
Pyran, Joshua		1			
Porter, James	140	1			
Porter, Robert		1			
Rawlings, Michael[174]	150	1	1		
Roach, John		1			

[167]A resident of Carter County, Tenn.; before coming to Knox County shortly before 1800; prominent member of the Baptist church at Beaver Ridge (now Ball Camp); removed to Morgan County, Indiana.

[168]Son-in-law of Dr. James Cozby *(q.v.)*, removed to Rhea, later Hamilton County; one of Cherokee enumerators for census of 1830; died 1835.

[169]Son of John Hickey, whose will was proved in Henry County, Va., Dec. 25, 1784.

[170]Born in Bucks County, Pa., Sept. 4, 1765; removed to Knox County, 1795; died July 27, 1848. *Knoxville Tribune*, August 9, 1848.

[171]A captain; died July 12, 1824. *Knoxville Register*, July 16, 1824.

[172](1776-Oct. 21, 1824); justice and deputy marshall of East Tennessee; postmaster of Knoxville. *Knoxville Register*, Oct. 22, 1824.

[173]Died Jan. 14, 1829, "an old inhabitant of this place." *Knoxville Register*, Jan. 21, 1829.

[174]Removed to Bledsoe County, Tenn.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Rentfro, Stephens estate by Moses Looney			2		
Stickly, Leva	150				
Sample, William		1			
Snow, Morgan		1			
Thompson, William		1			
Thompson, James	200				
Tillery, John	262	1			
Tillery, Samuel		1			
Whiteman, William	200	1			
White, Caleb			2		
Witt, Abner[175]	151				
Witt, Charles		1			
White, Benjamin[176]	1	2	1		
Young, John	100	1			

13. CAPTAIN PRICE'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Armstrong, James[177]	2480		3		
Allen, John	116				
Cobb, Sally[178]	376		7		
Cobb, William P. by Sally Cobb	608		5		
Cobb, Sarah by Pharaoh Cobb	608		5		
Carter, William	185	1			
Clap, Laudewick	200	1			
Carter, Peter		1			
Davis, Thomas	116	1	3		
Douglass, Thomas	200	1			
Douglass, Jonathan[179]	200				
Douglass, Johnathan for Joseph Young	320				
Elliot, Matthew	130	1			
Epps, Edward[180]		1			

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[175]Descendant of a French Huguenot who emigrated to the colony of Virginia and settled at Mannikentown; moved to Knox County and lived there until 1806, when he moved to Jackson County, Tenn.; returned to Knox County for a year or two; then moved to Rhea County and settled on Sale Creek, where several of his sons and sons-in-law had preceded him. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, Dec. 17, 1933.

[176]Revolutionary soldier; died Aug. 24, 1827, at Decatur, Ala. *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 5, 1827.

[177](1736-Sept. 28, 1813); known as "Trooper" because of his military service in Ireland; *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1813; *Armstrong, Notable Southern Families*, I, 1-18; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 370-71.

[178]Widow of William Cobb, whose home near Bluff City was the first seat of government of the Southwest Territory.

[179](April 25, 1752-Nov. 9, 1840); Revolutionary soldier; lost an eye in the Indian foray, 1777; lived in Carter's Valley (present Hawkins County) in 1777; died in Alabama.

[180]Born in Sussex County, Va., c1776; died in Knox County, 1840. For an account of his descendants see Mary Lou Johnson and Mae L. Treadwell, *Family of Edward Eppes of Knox County*, Tennessee (Knoxville, 1951).

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Fristoe, Robert[181]	200				
Fristoe, Robert Junior[182]		1			
Finley, John		1			
Graves, William	200		2		
Groves, Stephen		1			
Grantum, John		1			
Hankins, Able	200	1			
Huffer [Hoffar], Daniel[183]		1			
Harralson, Major		1	2		
Irwin, Francis	260	1			
Jones, Hester	200				
Jones, John		1			
John, Zephaniah	295				
Kearnes, John	100				
Kearnes, James		1			
Kein [Kain], John[184]	1450	1	16		
Large, Joseph		1			
Lion [Lyon], Thomas	350	1			
Little, Adam		1	1		
Lion, John	100	1	1		
Legg, James		1			1
Lisby, Moses		1			
Legg, Edward	177½				
Legg, Edward for Wm. Black	130				
Legg, John	250	1			
Morrow, Alexander	500		3		
Morrow, Richard	150	1			
McMunn, William	200	1			
McCauley [McCallie], Edward		1			
Mattox, Valentine	270				
Mitchell, Charles		1			
Medley, Richard		1			
Markland, Nathan B.	200	1	3		
McBee, William	505		7		
McBee, Lemuel		1			
McAnally, John	208				
Markland, Nathan B. for John Colland	500				
Maybury, Francis	120				
Moore, Nancy			1		
Maggot, William		1			

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[181]Early Baptist preacher; removed to Missouri, where he died. Burnett, *Pioneer Baptist Preachers*, 160-61.

[182]Married Nov. 14, 1811, Susan Groves, daughter of William Groves, *(q.v.)*. *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1811.

[183](1773-Sept. 12, 1827); lived at McBee's Ferry on Holston River; his obituary calls him "one of the greatest mechanical geniuses in East Tennessee." *Knoxville Enquirer*, Sept. 26, 1827; *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 19, 1827 (the two notices differ as to his age).

[184]Captain in militia; died July 6, 1831; father of Jennie, Mattie, and Kittie Kain; the latter two were among the first women students at Blount College, now University of Tennessee. *Knoxville Register*, July 13, 1831.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Osburn, Daniel	147				
Price, Edward	500	1			
Pearson, Jacob	100	1			
Pearson, Abel		1			
Right [Wright], Enock		1			
Roach, John		1			
Reardy, Joseph	100	1	2		
Robertson, Isaac		1			
Sharp, John		1			
Standfield, Soloman		1			
Stewart, James	200				
Stewart, James Junior		1			1
Shipe, Adam		1			
Stewart, Robert		1			
Tomlin, John	100	1			
Underhill, William	100	1			
White, Martha	700		3		
Williams, George	200		1		
Williams, William		1			
Walters, Claiborne		1			

14. CAPTAIN JAMES REYNOLDS COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Bletcher, William		1			
Bradley, William		1			
Burk, Isaac	125	1			
Crawford, English	110	1			
Clap, David[185]	230	1			
Chamberlain, Jeremiah[186]	732				
Damewood, Malachi	230	2			
Damewood, Henry	90	1			
Foust, John	135	1			
Ferguson, William	190	1			
Graham, Nathanial	350	2			
Grave, John	183	1			
Grave, Daniel	225	1			
Hill, John		1			
Halbert, Joel	270		1		
Halbert, John		1			
Harbison, James	315	1			1
Hailey, Claiborne		1	1		
Hailey, John	162	1			
Holland, Peter	150	1			

[185]Born in Orange (now Alamance) County, N. C.; married April 22, 1793, in Montgomery County, Va., Betsy Graves, daughter of Boston *(q.v.)* and Sarah (Ephland) Graves.

[186]Resident of Grainger County, where he died in 1824.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Johnston, Robert[187]		1			
Johnston, John	150	2			
Kelley, Joseph	130	1			
Kirk, Elijah		1			
Kearnes, Sarah			1		
Kearnes, James	275	1	1		
Kelly, Thomas		1			
Kelly, Michael	250		1		
Lower, Henry	375	1			
McDonald, Reuben	535		1		
Mynatt, George Estate	235				
McHaffy, John	284	1			
Mynatt, William[188]	200	3	2		
Mynatt, John[189]	150	1			
Nosler, Bostian[190]		1			
O'Donald, Michael	150	1			
Price, Reuben	200	1			
Peterson, William	235	1	2		
Peters, Nathanial	337	1			
Rutherford, John[191]	283	1			
Rutherford, Loyd		1			
Rutherford, Ezekiel		1			
Rutherford, Absalom[192]	500	1			
Roberts, Henry	315	1	1		
Roberts, William	200	1			
Reynolds, James		1			
Reynolds, Thomas		1			
Sharp, Samuel[193]	150				
Smith, John		1			
Sharp, Moses	50	1			
Sawyers, John[194]	1000		1		
Taylor, Henry		1			
Tablor, Michael	100	1			
Wood, Samuel	75	1			
Williams, Alexander		1			
Zachariah, Gilbert		1			

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[187]Perhaps the man of that name who drew a pension in Knox County for his Revolutionary service in the Virginia militia.

[188](1756-Jan. 13, 1831); member of Baptist Church. *Knoxville Register,* Jan. 19, 1831.

[189](1773-Jan. 2, 1827). *Ibid.,* Jan. 17, 1827.

[190]Earlier a resident of Montgomery County, Va. Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, passim.*

[191]Will proved April, 1817. Knox County, Tenn., Estate Book, II, 336.

[192]Revolutionary War soldier who drew a pension for his service in Virginia militia; came from Wythe County, Va. Rev. War Pension File.

[193]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension for service in Virginia militia.

[194](1746-Nov. 20, 1831). For an account of him and his descendants see Madison Monroe Harris, *Family History of Col. John Sawyers and Simon Harris and Their Descendants* (Knoxville, 1913).

15. CAPTAIN JOHN REYNOLDS COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Adair, David	300	2			
Anderson, Jacob	170	1	1		
Averett, Jesse	200	1			
Bayles, William	90	1			
Brassfield, Thomas	458	1	1		
Baker, Tilman	100	1			
Baker, Henry estate by Tilman Baker	284½				
Dunning, Samuel	137	1			
Dunlap, John	201½	1			
Davis, Charles		1			
Davis, Samuel		1			
Foust, Christian	250	1			
Foust, John	50	1			
Forgy, Andrew	321	1			
Forgy, Hugh	250	1			
Forgy, Alexander	321	1			
Gibbs, John	150	1			
Gibbs, Nicholas Junr	160	1			
Graves, Bostian[195]	537				
Graves, Peter		1			
Gibbs, Nicholas	285				
Ditto for John Bonds estate	180				
Gibbs, David	170	1			
Gibbs, Jacob	150	1			1
Hankins, Absalom	273	1			
Hinds, John	793	1			
Hinds, Sylvanus		1			
Hinds, John Junior		1			
Hinds, Samuel	100	1			
Heavins, James	300	1			
Hains, Israel	150	1			
Halmark, George		1			
Halbert, Stephen	200	1			
Howarton, Jackson		1			
Johnston, William	200	1			
Jackson, William	150	1			
McCampbell, Isaac[196]	115	1			
Miltabarger, William		1			
Ozburn, Charles	150	1			
Peirce, George		1			

[195]Revolutionary War soldier born in Pennsylvania; served in Revolution while living in Orange County, N. C.; moved to Montgomery County, Va., then Knox County, Tenn.; married Sarah Ephland, whose sister Mary married Nicholas Gibbs, *infra*. Rev. War Pension File, R 4213; Genevieve E. Peters, *Know Your Relatives: The Sharps, Gibbs, Graves, Elfland, Albright, Loy, Miller, Snodderly, Tillman, and Other Related Families* (Washington, D. C., 1953).

[196]For an account of the McCampbell family see Samuel T. Wilson, *Isaac Anderson: Founder and First President of Maryville College* (Maryville, Tenn., 1932), 138-54.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Pierce, Robert	300	1			
Pugh, Jacob	100	1			
Reynolds, John	500	1			
Roberts, William	290				
Spence, James	600				
Smith, Joseph	120				
Thompson, Richard	200		2		
Thompson, John	371½	1	3		
Trout, George	50	1			
Trout, William	64	1			
Taylor, Isaac		1	2		
Vall [Devault], Michael D.	200				
Wood, Enos	104				
Wood, Joseph	201½	1			
Woodward, Thomas	145				
Wilson, Augustine	350	1			
Wear, John	100	1			

16. CAPTAIN TAYLOR'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Aikman, William by Adms.	124				
Brannum, Plesant		1			
Brothers, Thomas		1			
Brannum, Daniel		1			
Blackburn, Benjamin		1			
Birdwell, Joseph Estate by Lewis Hill	200				
Barton, Roger[197]	763		1		
Barton, Gilbreath		1	1		
Bennett, Peter[198]	550		5		
Bond, Isaac	230	1			
Currier, James		1	1		
Clift, Henry		1			
Currier, James A.		1			
Campbell, John	178	1	3		
Cavett, Agnes[199] Excts.	640				
Dougan, John	145	1			
Donald, John by Matthew Donald	165				
Fleming, David by S. G. Ramsey	157				

[197](July 9, 1747-June 4, 1822); a native of Augusta County, Va.; Revolutionary soldier; removed from Knox to Anderson County; father-in-law of John Crozier *(q.v.)*.

[198](1752-Apr. 9, 1822); Revolutionary War soldier; born in Virginia; served in Revolution while a resident of Granville County, N. C.; married c1773 in King William County, Va., Elizabeth Pomfret, born Jan. 1, 1753, in Virginia, and died in Knox County, July 7, 1845. Rev. War Pension File, R 754.

[199]Widow of Moses Cavett; a Richard Cavett, probably his son or brother, who removed to Madison County, Ala., drew a pension for his Revolutionary War service. In the application he gives an unusual account of life on the frontier in Sullivan County at the time of the Revolution.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Fleming, Betsy by S. G. Ramsey	159				
French, Joseph		1			
Fryar, John	155				
Fleming, Samuel	157	1			
Fleming, Polly	277				
Farragut, George[200]	300				
Griffis, William	150				
Hill, Edward		1			
Holt, Robert	250	1	4		
Holt, Irby		1			
Hackett, John	1375		2		
Knox, William	200	1			
Love, John	350	1			
Low, John	640				
Low, Abraham	100	1			
McAllister, Joseph	117	1			
McCown, James	100	1			
McWhinney, Thomas	100				
McCullock, James		1			
Martin, John	200				
McClung, Charles[201]	4980	2	9		
Pickens, Robert by J. Dougan	50				
Pride, Benjamin	333 1/3	1	2		
Paul, John		1			
Parker, William E.	150				
Russell, Brice	248	1			
Ramsey, Samuel G.[202]	380	1	4		
Russell, James	225	1	1		
Swan, Isaac	200	1			
Swan, James	581		1		
Swan, James Adm. of Harvey Swan	155				
Swan, Samuel	200	1	1		
Swan, John estate by Samuel Swan And John Love Administrators	195				
Scott, Willie	143	1			
Scott, Abraham		1			
Spilman, Thomas		1			
Sterling, Hannah	298		1		
Sterling, Samuel		1			
Sterling, Henry	173	1			
Thompson, Samuel	150				
Thompson, Robert		1			
Thompson, William		1			
Thompson, David		1			

[200](Sept. 29, 1755-June 4, 1817); father of Admiral David Glasgow Farragut. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 416-17; also Samuel C. Williams, "George Farragut," E.T.H.S. *Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 77-94.

[201]Surveyor of Knoxville. *French Broad-Holston Country*, 446-47.

[202](Oct. 20, 1771-July 5, 1817); Presbyterian minister; lived at Ebenezer about ten miles south of Knoxville, where he conducted the Ebenezer Academy. *Knoxville Register*, July 31, 1817; *French Broad-Holston Country*, 472-73.

Thompson, Samuel Junior		1			
Taylor, Cawfield	214	1			
Vance, Elizabeth Exct.	140				
Walker, John	275	1			
Walker, Matthew	275	1			
White, James		1			
Walton, Henry		1			
Walton, James		1			
Wilson, Mary by Thomas Brothers			1		

17. CAPTAIN TIPTON'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Anderson, Thomas	100	1			
Anderson, Daniel[203]	100				
Anderson, Daniel	150	1			
Anderson, Samuel		1			
Brewer, Oliver		1	1		1
Baker, Charles	100				
Bartlett, Nicholas[204]	150				
Barnett, William	138	1			
Colker, William	300				
Casteel, Francis	440				1
Casteel, Abednigo, Junior	100	1			
Casteel, Abednigo	150				
Casteel, Mesheck	50	1			
Casteel, Shadrack	150	1			
Colker, Jude	50				
Cunningham, Rosannah	118				
Carson, Alexander	150	1			
Depus, Asher		1			
Davis, Richards	80	1			
Dearmond, Richard J.		1			
Dearmond, William	13	1			
Davis, James	100	1			
Dullwitt, John	50				
Dearmond, John Junior	376	1			
Dearmond, John[205]	400				
Edington, William		1			
Estes, Micaijah		1			
Evans, Mary	100				
Flenniken, Samuel[206]	875	1	1		
Flenniken, James W.	150	1			
Greenlee, Francis	50	1			

[203]Died July 11, 1818, aged 111 years. *Knoxville Register*, July 21, 1818.

[204]A Quaker from Greenbrier County, Va. (now West Va.); prior to 1787, operated a mill on Stock Creek at the Knox-Blount line; will proved April, 1814. Estate Book, II, 97.

[205]See R. C. d'Armand, *The Dearmond Families of America.*

[206]*Ibid.*

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Givins, William	50	1			
Hood, Andrew		1			
Haislett, William	300				
Haislett, Benjamin C.	50	1			
Husong, Jacob	150	1			
Hood, Aron	200	1			
Hood, Soloman	200	1			
Hood, Thomas		1			
Hicks, Abraham	100	1			
Hicks, Charles	30	1			
Hoan, Jacob	200	1			
Haislett, William		1			
Henderson, Samuel	127	1	1		
Johnston, William	100				
Johnston, Calvin	250	1	1		
Johnston, Joseph	200	1			
Johnston, Isaac		1			
Jones, Mary	100				
Johnston, Robert	300	1			
Kirby, Joseph	200	1	3		1
Kirby, Francis		1			
Keehill, Richards	70				
Lowe, John		1			
Mason, Edward	100				
McCarrel, James	162				
McCammon, Thomas	150	1			
McCandlys, John	300				
McEldry, John	640				
Moor, James	245	1			
Moor, Reuben	640	1			
McWilliams, Andrew	100				
McClellan, William[207]	350				
McClellan, Samuel		1			
McCoy, John	184	1			
Mash, John	100	1			
Nelson, William	100				
Overstreet, William	450		4		
Price, James[208]	100	1			
Porter, James L.	200	1			
Reagan, James	300		3		
Rodgers, Jeremiah	100	1			
Reed, Abraham	244				
Ray, James	60		1		
Smith, Elijah	50	1			
Smith, Aaron	40	1			
Smith, A	100				

[207]Revolutionary soldier; died Feb. 24, 1827, aged 84. *Knoxville Register*, Feb. 28, 1827.

[208]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension for service in Virginia militia.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Tipton, William[209]	500	1	2		
Tipton, Reuben	150	1			
Tipton, Abraham		1			
Tarwater, Frederick	100	1			
Tarwater, Jacob	150				
Wheeler, Peter		1	1		
Wheeler, Thomas	100	1			
Hicks, John		1			
Johnston, James		1			

TAXES 1806 RETURNED TO COURT

BOOTH'S COMPANY

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Salter, John by James Trimble	1343½				
Lewis, Wm. T. by Wm. Maclin	1250				

BISHOP'S COMPANY

Upton, David		1			
Renfrow, John		1			
Moses, Poor by Geo. Bayles	300	1			

BONDS COMPANY

Gibson, John	100
White, Isaac by Sam Givens	400
Pelham's, John estate by Wm. Lackey	100

BOYDS COMPANY

McCleary, Abraham[210]	204
Beard, Hugh by Abraham McClary	386

CHILES COMPANY

Stringfield, Rebecca	50

COX'S COMPANY

Vaughn, William

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[209]Revolutionary soldier known as "Fighting Billy"; born Feb. 13, 1761, in Shenandoah County, Va.; removed to Greene County, shortly after Revolution where he married Phoebe Moore; father of Reuben and Abraham Tipton *(infra)*; died in Blount County, Nov. 3, 1849. Rev. War Pension File; *Knoxville Register*, Nov. 17, 1849.

[210]A resident of Sevier County, Tenn.; a native of York County, Pa. where he married Rachel Payne; dead by 1819.

DUNLAP'S COMPANY

Youst, Francis	418	1	
Medley, John		1	
Meek, Adam by R. Houston	401		
Douglass, Sarah by Adam Meek	150		
Scott, William	200	1	

COX'S COMPANY

Joel Epperson by Tho. Brassfield		1	
Presley Buckner	124		
John Bull		1	

HARDIN'S COMPANY

West Walker[211]	200	1	

HAISLET'S COMPANY

John Jack	50	1	
Jeremiah Burnett	50	1	
Jacob Moyers		1	
John Doyl[212]	200		
William Montgomery		1	2
William Palmer	50	1	
William Barclay		1	
Thomas Nethery	150		
Margaret Rhea			2
Joseph Bartlett		1	

JACK'S COMPANY

William McCree [McRee]		1	
William Craighead		1	
John Witt	150	1	
Jeremiah Compton by Jno. Witt	100		
Stephen Newberry	30	1	
Jesse Sullivan		1	
Frederick Nail		1	
Jacob Patton	225	1	
Kimberly by John Newman	200		

LONAS'S COMPANY

James McCullough	90		
William Nichol	90	1	
William Bell		2	2
Margaret Porter[213] by John Singleton	320		

[211]An early Baptist minister.

[212]Revolutionary soldier who drew pension for service in Maryland militia; married Eve Formwalt, widow of John Formwalt.

[213]A resident of Blount County, Tenn.

PRICES COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Robert Smith		1			
John Steel		1			

JAS. REYNOLD'S COMPANY

James Ailor		1			

JNO. REYNOLD'S COMPANY

John Glass by John Rutherford	225	1			
George Foust	400				
John Meek	400		1		
Jeremiah Pate		1			

TAYLOR'S COMPANY

John Fryar		2			
Elisha Journeygan [Jarnigan]		1			
Jacob Miles		1			
Nicholas Bond	360	1			
William Fryar	150				
John Tooles heirs by John Hackett	666 2/3				

TIPTON'S COMPANY

John McDowell	45				
Joseph McCleary	179½				
Jesse Smith	250				
James C. Luttrell	100				
George Doherty heirs by Geo. W. Campbell	1000				
George Doherty heirs and Martin Armstrong by George W. Campbell	1000				
Thomas Kelland by David Henley	20,000				
William McBee	9				
Joseph Hinds son of Levi	200				
David Low	100				
Paul Cunningham estate by his admr.	300				
	32,716 2/3	36	8		
[Totals	255,858 7/12	967	475	101⅜	15]

REPORTED BY THE SHERIFF OF DOUBLE TAXES

Dry Heirs representatives	5375
do do do	4575
Joseph Williams	200
	10,150

A LIST OF STUDS LICENSED IN 1806

Owner's Names	Horses Names	State Tax	Co. Tax	Jail Tax
John Bowman	Young Twig	$4.00	$ .50	$1.00
Henry Roberts	Chickasaw	3.00	.50	1.00
Edward Routh	Nero	2.00	.50	1.00
Richard Cobb	Young Wildear	3.00	.50	1.00
William Minatt	Young Celo	3.00	.50	1.00
Pumery Carmichael	Lion	2.00	.50	1.00
Account rendered for state tax		$17.00	$3.00	$6.00

TENNESSEE

Schedule of the whole number of Persons in the District of Tennessee.

Accompanying a written message from the President of the United States of the 22d December, 1801.

NAMES OF DISTRICTS.	NAMES OF Towns, and Counties.	FREE WHITE MALES					FREE WHITE FEMALES					All other Free Persons except Indians, not taxed.	Slaves
		Under 10 Years of Age.	Of 10 and under 16.	Of 16 and under 26, including Heads of Families.	Of 26 and under 45, including Heads of Families.	Of 45 and upwards, including Heads of Families.	Under 10 Years of Age.	Of 10 and under 16.	Of 16 and under 26, including Heads of Families.	Of 26 and under 45, including Heads of Families.	Of 45 and upwards, including Heads of Families.		
Mero District,	Nashville, - - - -	21	10	42	50	8	20	5	22	9	4	3	151
	Davidson county,	1348	460	728	753	265	1288	485	622	509	212	14	2936
	Sumner county, -	658	254	373	306	175	625	269	274	271	127	—	1284
	Smith county, - -	762	255	389	388	141	747	250	318	342	101	4	597
	Wilson county, - -	571	171	239	268	78	527	180	200	203	86	9	729
	Williamson county	483	127	196	256	72	434	149	196	180	81	1	693
	Robertson county,	715	246	315	358	145	653	246	316	293	127	3	863
	Montgomery county, - - - - -	462	160	227	222	87	371	160	137	172	80	—	821
		5020	1683	2509	2601	971	4665	1744	2085	1979	818	34	8074
Hamilton District	Knox county, - - -	2351	826	1062	955	481	2172	734	980	848	431	19	1122
	Knoxville town, -	35	16	51	32	10	37	13	22	17	8	—	146
	Kingston, - - - - -	9	5	5	8	—	10	1	1	8	—	—	80
	Iredell, - - - - - -	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Blount county, - -	1000	405	517	485	238	962	443	523	414	188	2	339
	Maryville town, -	13	8	14	12	4	2	3	5	3	1	—	6
	Sevier county, - -	623	280	291	372	167	643	239	267	236	137	2	162
	Grainger county, -	1493	585	562	477	325	1542	593	544	457	293	—	496
	Jefferson and Cocke counties,	1719	671	731	706	456	1584	642	762	662	362	27	695
		7243	2796	3233	3048	1681	6952	2668	3104	2645	1420	50	2996
Washington Dist.	Hawkins county, -	1195	398	334	702	269	1159	404	405	604	197	85	811
	Carter county, - -	1103	408	324	326	111	1035	419	400	278	105	96	208
	Sullivan county, -	2077	853	708	634	341	2185	814	1277	500	321	17	491
	Washington county, - - - - -	1140	477	555	459	340	1110	463	542	442	293	25	533
	Green county, - -	1449	579	619	582	412	1344	530	741	544	337	2	471
		6964	2715	2540	2703	1473	6833	2630	3365	2368	1253	225	2514
District of Mero,		5020	1683	2509	2601	971	4665	1744	2085	1979	818	34	8074
Do. of Hamilton,		7243	2796	3233	3048	1681	6952	2668	3104	2645	1420	50	2996
Do. Washington,		6964	2715	2540	2703	1473	6833	2630	3365	2368	1253	225	2514
		19,227	7194	8282	8352	4125	18,450	7042	8554	6992	3491	309	13,584

Total amount of defcriptions within my district, is—105,602.

(Signed) ROBERT HAYS,

Marshal for the District of Tennessee.

SOME FOUNDERS OF CAMPBELL'S STATION, TENNESSEE: A GENEALOGY OF ALEXANDER, DAVID, AND JAMES CAMPBELL

Compiled by Laura E. Luttrell

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 1953, No. 25)

II.

"ELDER" DAVID CAMPBELL AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

As David Campbell (1763-1813), co-founder of Campbell's Station and subject of this sketch, has been confused with his cousin, Colonel (Captain) David Campbell, chief founder of that early settlement,[1] it is well that the several David Campbells of this region be identified more clearly. Mrs. Pilcher, in her wonderful sketch of the Campbell clan,[2] designates this co-founder as "Elder" David Campbell to distinguish him from the Colonel. As he was a faithful elder of Grassy Valley Presbyterian Church until his death, the name was appropriate. Colonel Campbell has also been mistaken for Judge David Campbell.[3]

Colonel David (1753-1832) was the son of "Black" David Campbell[4] (so called to distinguish him from his kinsman, "White" David Campbell, a man of fairer complection and grandson of William and Mary (Byers) Campbell.) Colonel Campbell sold his real estate holdings at Campbell's Station in Knox County in 1823 and 1824. He had moved about 1823; visited his son's family in Sumner County; and was a citizen of Wilson County when he made his last deed to Samuel Martin, May 12, 1824.[5]

Judge David Campbell (1750-1812) was the son of "White" David Campbell (1706-1790; son of John and Grissell (Hay) Campbell) and brother-in-law of Colonel Campbell. He was chief justice of the State of Franklin and one of the three judges of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. He later settled at the site of the present Lenoir City, sold out there to William Ballard Lenoir, and removed to Rhea County.[6]

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[1]Inscription on monument to David Campbell in Pleasant Forest Cemetery, Concord, Tennessee.

[2]Margaret C. Pilcher, *Historical Sketches of the Campbell, Pilcher and Kindred Families* (Nashville, 1911), 134. Hereafter cited Pilcher. This work has a complete genealogy of Col. David Campbell; therefore his family is omitted from this sketch.

[3]Letter by Colonel David Campbell in Wisconsin Historical Society Library is labelled, "By Judge David Campbell of Campbell Station, Tenn." Draper MSS. 16DD56. Hereafter cited Col. David Campbell Letter.

[4]Pilcher, 130, 135-39.

[5]Knox County, Tenn., Deed Book (Knox County Courthouse), T I, 205, 228, S I, 604-05.

[6]Biographical sketch of Judge Campbell, Pilcher, 114-15; Penelope J. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," Chattanooga *Times*, Feb. 10, 1935.

In the ledger, 1803-1804, of James and William Park, Knoxville merchants, the Campbell customers were listed as David Campbell-Judge, David Campbell-Colonel, and David Campbell-Elder.[7]

There were also other Davids to cause bewilderment in some quarters. David Campbell (1788-1844), Knoxville merchant with the firm, Fryar and Campbell, and after the death of Fryar in 1821, David Campbell and Company, was a grandson of "White" David Campbell and married a daughter of Mrs. Margaret (Russell) Cowan Humes.[8]

David Campbell (1779-1859) of Abingdon, Virginia, also a grandson of "White" David Campbell, was given a marriage bond in Knox County in 1800 to marry Mary Hamilton Campbell, daughter of Colonel Campbell, of Campbell's Station. Several years later he became governor of Virginia.[9] The David Campbell, Jr., who signed the marriage as surety, was the bride's brother; settled in Sumner County, Tennessee, and became the father of William Bowen Campbell, governor of Tennessee.[10]

"ELDER" DAVID CAMPBELL

(4) "Elder" David Campbell (1763?-1813), farmer, Revolutionary soldier, co-founder of Campbell's Station, church officer, was born in Augusta County, Virginia; died in Knox County, Tennessee,[11] and was buried in Pleasant Forest Cemetery, noted as the burial place of Archibald Roane, governor of Tennessee, 1801-1802. This man was the brother of Alexander and James Campbell, all sons of (3) Robert Campbell (born in Ireland); grandsons of (2) William Campbell, of Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia, and great-grandsons of (1) Alexander Campbell, of Scotland.

(3) Robert Campbell, who was living with his family in Augusta County, Virginia, moved to Washington County in that state, then, during the Revolutionary War to Washington County, North Carolina (later Tennessee). While living in that county, David volunteered under Colonel John Sevier and, with his brothers, served in Sevier's regiment in that memorable battle of King's Mountain, 1780.[12] After 1783 he was living in

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[7]James and William Park, Merchants, Knoxville, Tennessee, Ledger, 1803-1804. This MS. volume and three others are to be found in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tenn.

[8]Knoxville *Register*, Sept. 11, 1821; Knox County, Tenn., Marriages (copied by the writer).

[9]Biographical sketch of Governor David Campbell, of Virginia, Pilcher, 37-39; Lewis P. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870* (Richmond, 1903), 766-67.

[10]Biographical sketch of William B. Campbell, P. M. Hamer(ed.), *Tennessee: A History*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), IV, 154; J. G. Cisco, *Historic Sumner County, Tennessee* (Nashville, 1909), 236-39.

[11]The numbers within ( ) in front of names denote generations. There is some repetition of the genealogy and events given in Part I of this sketch of "Some Founders of Campbell's Station," *Publications*, No. 25.

[12]Daughters of the American Revolution, North Carolina, *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution* (Durham, 1932), 326.

Greene County and, on December 11, 1785, married Janet (also called Jean or Jane) Lockhart (1768?-Jan. 17, 1842),[13] daughter of William and Mary (Campbell) Lockhart and sister of Mary Lockhart, wife of Alexander Campbell.

In March, 1787, David Campbell, with his wife and infant son, William L., and with his brother Alexander and family, joined Colonel David Campbell and Archibald McCaleb (who had gone with their families the week before) in settling in the Grassy Valley of what is now Knox County, Tennessee. A short time later, Jonathan Douglass and family were added to the pioneers at Campbell's Station.[14]

These five men and also their wives had laborious work to do. In addition to felling trees, building cabins, clearing land and planting crops, the men were ever on the alert to protect their families from unfriendly Indians. They were often called out for military duty and to attend "musters." The enemy would fire at the men while they were plowing and hoeing in the fields and would steal their horses.[15]

These families were moved twice for safety to other forts, the first time to Amos Byrd's Station east of them on the Holston River, and the second time to White's Fort (site of Knoxville) fifteen miles east.[16] Reports of Indian depredations and rumors of warlike movements kept these pioneers constantly alarmed. However, they were determined to establish homes in this beautiful valley so pleasing in every prospect. Early in the spring of 1788 James ("Big Jimmie") Campbell and Robert Blackburn with their families came to the Station.[17] All were busy with farm work when, in May or June, the family of John Kirk, living nearer than any other to the Indian towns, was killed.[18] David Campbell was one of the men who joined a group of men in an attack on the Indian town of Coyatee.

When the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio was organized and Governor William Blount made a treaty the next year with the Cherokees,[19] there was a fair prospect of peace. But such a hope was short-lived for in April, 1792, one of the guards brought the news that two of Mr. Wells' boys who were picking strawberries in sight of their home in Hinds' Valley had been killed by Indians.[20]

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[13]Greene County, Tenn., Marriage Bond (Greene County Courthouse, Tenn.). Copied by the writer; also by the late C. K. Hill, Harriman, Tenn.

[14]Col. David Campbell Letter.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Pilcher, 93.

[18]Col. David Campbell Letter.

[19]Stanley J. Folmsbee and Lucile Deaderick, *The Founding of Knoxville* (Knoxville, 1941), 7-8. Reprint from East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 13.

[20]C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States, IV, The Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936), 151; J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee...*(Charleston, 1853), 562.

Another event the same year that caused them apprehension was an attack on the family of Ebenezer Byram whose place was about ten miles west of Knoxville. This occurred on November 12, 1792.[21] Then in April, 1793, the house of Robert Blackburn, only two or three miles from the Station, was burned[22] after the family had taken refuge in the fort. "Elder" David Campbell had built a cabin on his plantation in the vicinity and was preparing to clear more land to plant farm crops. However, these depredations of the savages forced all the families to take refuge in the fort.

In September of the same year a large army of Cherokees and Creeks, intent upon attacking Knoxville, passed in the night not far from the Station but so silently that the families within (now about fifteen or twenty), did not hear them. When, in the early morning, their trails were discovered and it was thought that about two thousand red men had gone by, they concluded that the savages had gone to destroy the inhabitants of Knoxville, and, upon their return, would take Campbell's Station. So they immediately began to prepare for defense. Two of the men were sent on horses to notify General Sevier, who with about six hundred men was encamped "on the south side of Holston River about five miles from Campbell's Station." Every vessel was filled with water for fear their cabins might be set on fire.[23] The men in the fort were experienced soldiers and expert gun men. The women also had been instructed in the use of firearms. Upon two occasions Mrs. Margaret Campbell had shown that she was prepared to shoot down attackers.[24] They waited with apprehension; such fear they had never known. They listened intently for the sound of the war whoop and the attack to begin — not knowing that the Indians had abandoned their plan to attack Knoxville and had gone to their homes.

Late in the day some men who had heard of the savage massacre at Cavitt Station[25] rode to see what the savages had done at that place; then rode on fearing that a like fate had befallen the people at Campbell's Station. What a relief to those families to see friends — not foes! What horror and sadness they felt to hear that the Cavitts had been killed.

After about nine years since their coming the settlers were free to live on their own farms. General Sevier had effectively quelled the Cherokees by a raid upon their towns. The people of the Station could now give attention to the education of their children and to the establishment of a church.

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[21]J. P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938), 252; Ramsey, *Annals*, 341.

[22]Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, IV, 252, 280-82.

[23]Col. David Campbell Letter.

[24]Pilcher, 93-94; Ramsey, *Annals*, 562.

[25]Col. David Campbell Letter; Ramsey, *Annals*, 581.

By 1798, or earlier, a small school house and a church were erected upon the land of Colonel Campbell. The Grassy Valley Presbyterian Church was organized by the Reverend Samuel Graham Ramsey and he was installed as pastor in 1798.[26] At the same time David Campbell was appointed one of the elders and held that office as long as he lived. On May 1, 1800, Colonel Campbell made a deed of the land to the pastor and officers of the church. He conveyed two and a fraction acres in these words: " . . . whereas the said congregation [Presbyterian] with the free will and consent of the said David Campbell have erected an house for public worship on his lands — therefore, in order to secure to the said congregation the free and peaceable use and enjoyment thereof, he, the said David Campbell, hath . . . given and granted . . . to . . . Samuel G. Ramsey, Pastor, and Robert Gamble, Joseph Cowan, and David Campbell, elders of the said congregation and their successors . . . two acres and sixty poles."[27]

It is not known who were the early teachers in this first school, but in 1821, when the Colonel's daughter, Margaret Lavinia Campbell, was sixteen years of age, she taught school there and also organized a Sunday School.[28] Miss Phoebe Hunter was the teacher about 1835-1837.[29]

"Elder" David Campbell was well known for his interest in promoting religion and education in the community. He was devoted to his family; and a friend to all. Two of his sons, James and John Steele, served many years as elders in the Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church; also a grandson, James Alexander Campbell, held the same office.

His will, dated June 6, 1812, was probated in April, 1813.[30] He named his wife, Jean, and his five sons and four daughters. He had in addition to his home plantation a tract of land purchased of Thomas C. Clark, and he stated that he already had given some property to his son Alexander. He had several slaves. He appointed as executors his brother, James Campbell; William, son of his brother James; and "my son," William L. Campbell. Witnesses were John Smith, Robert and James Campbell.

The children of David and Janet (Lockhart) Campbell were: (5)

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[26]Biographical sketch of S. G. Ramsey, W. B. Sprague (ed.), *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 9 vols. (New York, 1857-69), IV, 150-54.

[27]Knox County, Tenn., Deed Book (Knox County Courthouse) E III, 142. For proof that this deed was made by Col. David Campbell, see Deed Book, X I, 88-90, for deed made Sept., 1818, to his son, John, for 300 acres in which he said, "It is understood that the two acres of land formerly given to the Congregation for the use of the meeting house and graveyard is excepted and not considered in the above conveyance."

[28]R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism*, 5 vols. (Nashville, 1903-1913), III, 124-25.

[29]Jean Russell, Historic Presbyterian Churches of Knox County, Tennessee (unpublished MS. in possession of the author, Concord, Tenn.). Typewritten copy to be filed in McClung Collection.

[30]Knox County, Tenn., Estate Book (Knox County Courthouse), II, 48-52, 60.

William Lockhart, Alexander, Mary L., Margaret M., James, Jeany, David, Jr., Betsy, and John Steele.[81]

WILLIAM LOCKHART CAMPBELL

(5) William Lockhart Campbell (b. Oct. 28, 1786), eldest son of David and Janet (Lockhart) Campbell was born in Greene County, North Carolina (later Tennessee) and was an infant when his parents arrived in March, 1787, at Campbell's Station. With his brothers and sisters they moved from the Station to their plantation home when the Cherokees appeared to be peaceful and friendly.

William L. qualified as one of three executors of his father's will in April ("2d Monday"), 1813, and signed the inventory returned in July, 1813. His father willed to him and David, Jr., a tract of land purchased of Thomas C. Clark, to be equally divided between them. William L. already had received a share of his father's personal estate. His brother, Alexander, wrote a letter to him, dated April, 1815, which spoke of having lost "the best of fathers" and gave William advice as to marriage.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

(5) Alexander Campbell (b. Apr. 9, 1789) was born at Campbell's Station. His father (in his will, dated June 6, 1812) stated that he already had given Alexander a "full share of real and personal property," which probably was received by Alexander when he married and set up housekeeping.

MARY L. CAMPBELL

(5) Mary L. Campbell (b. Apr. 23, 1791) was born at Campbell's Station. Her father willed to her a Negro girl, Aggy; also some furniture.

MARGARET M. CAMPBELL PERRY

(5) Margaret M. Campbell (b. Apr. 7, 1793) was born at Campbell's Station after Knox County had been created. Her father willed to her a Negro girl named Lucy; also some furniture. She was married October 2, 1835, by the Rev. George Russell to Robert Perry. Her brother, James, was the bondsman. In 1850 she was living with the family of her brother James in Knox County.

JAMES CAMPBELL

(5) James Campbell (June 21, 1795-Oct. 12, 1876), farmer, livestock

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[81]Family Records of Mrs. Andrew L. Campbell, Concord, Tenn. Hereafter cited Mrs. A. L. Campbell Records.

dealer, church elder, was born at Campbell's Station. The Indian troubles were not so much dreaded when James was born eight years from the beginning of the settlement in the wilderness. The family had moved from the fort to the cabin on the plantation. When James was six years old he attended the school and the Presbyterian church that had been established on land deeded by Colonel David Campbell for such purposes. He was elected an elder of Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church in 1833 and served many years.[32]

He married, March 20, 1824, Sarah Smith (Jan. 8, 1806-Aug. 13, 1874) who was born in Virginia. He received by will of his late father, one half of the home plantation to be his upon the death of his mother. When he died, as his will shows, he was possessed of a large number of acres.[33]

His children were: (6) Nancy L., David S., Jane L., Eliza H., William Moffett, James Alexander, John G., Robert Walker, Sarah Emeline, and Edward Moore.

(6) Nancy L. Campbell (b. 1826-d. before Nov. 2, 1875), daughter of James and Sarah (Smith) Campbell, married Robert F. Smith (born 1823 in Virginia). Three children were living when her father, on November 2, 1875, willed 114 acres of land in Loudon County, Tennessee, "To the three children, now living, of my deceased daughter, Nancy L. Smith."

(6) David S. Campbell (b. 1825-d. before Nov. 2, 1875) married October 5, 1846, Edna Taylor and had several children — one of whom was (7) Sarah Jane (b. 1849). They were members of the Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church in 1853. These children inherited 167 acres of land in Knox County by will of their grandfather.

(6) Jane L. Campbell (b. about 1830; d. before Nov. 2, 1875) was not married.

(6) Eliza H. Campbell (b. 1832-d. after Nov. 2, 1875) married Joseph Taylor Russell. She received by will of her father 108 acres, a portion of "the home place" in Knox County. They had a daughter, (7) Sarah Russell, who married James Gound, her first cousin, and had two daughters: (8) Ruby and Orabelle Gound.

(6) William Moffett Campbell (b. Oct. 5, 1833) was not married.

(6) James Alexander Campbell (b. 1836-d. after Nov. 2, 1875) received 108 acres, "part of the home place," and some shares of capital stock of the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia Railroad. He was appointed

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[32]Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church, Session Book, 1833-1910 (typed copy in McClung Collection; original in Maryville College Library).

[33]Knox County, Tenn., Will Book (Knox County Courthouse), No. 1 (November term, 1876), 38-40.

one of the executors of his father's will.

(6) John G. Campbell (Feb. 22, 1838-July 12, 1877) became a member of the Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church in April, 1850. He was one of the executors of his father's will, 1876, and received a generous portion of the estate — land, railroad stock, a wagon, and other farm equipment. He already owned the livestock except the bay mare, "Pet."

(6) Robert Walker Campbell (b. 1840) received about 114 acres of land and some shares of capital stock of the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad Company. He married and had two sons, Charles E. and Elmer Hugh.

(7) Charles E. Campbell, a veterinarian, married, first, Mary Elizabeth Swan, daughter of George N. and Rebecca (Craig) Swan. Their children were Jessie, Lynn, Robert, and Charles. (8) Jessie Campbell married Frank Huffstetler and had a son, Frank, Jr. (8) Lynn Campbell, a pharmacist and undertaker, died while exploring a cave. He was not married. (8) Robert Campbell lives in California.

Charles E. Campbell married, second, Annie Porter; their son (8) Porter Campbell is a grocer in Lenoir City; their daughter (8) Mary Anne Campbell lives in Lenoir City.

(7) Elmer Hugh Campbell married Nannie Walker and had two children: (8) Mary Kate, who married Albert Watson, and (8) Elmer Hugh, Jr.

(6) Sarah Emaline Campbell (Aug. 23, 1842-Nov. 26, 1908), daughter of James and Sarah (Smith) Campbell, was willed by her father 114 acres of land in Loudon County. She married, February 17, 1858, in Knox County, Tennessee, Robert Tate Gound (May 6, 1832-June 15, 1900). They had eleven children.[84]

(7) Edgar Eberly Gound (b. Jan. 31, 1859; living 1946) married first, Margaret Marsh; second, Lulu (?) and had two children: (8) Robert and Mary.

(7) Cordova Gound (Feb. 12, 1861-July 18, 1911) married Thomas Story; their children were: (8) Eliza, Laura, Lena, Lee, Lloyd, and Eudell Story.

(7) Signora Gound (b. Dec. 9, 1863) married July 28, 1898, George Newman; their children were: (8) Althea, Ralph, Emakate, Esther, Edith, Mabel, and Lucile.

(7) Knox Gound (Sept. 1, 1866-Feb. 28, 1925) married Mary (?).

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[84]The Gound family records were contributed by Miss Corine Bradshaw, Fairbury, Nebraska.

(7) Moffett Gound (Dec. 1, 1868-Jan. 1921) married August 8, 1898, Jennie Morton and had a daughter, (8) Julia Gound.

(7) Lena Gound (Jan. 1, 1870-Aug. 5, 1885).

(7) James Gound (b. Jan. 9, 1873) married Sallie Russell, daughter of Joseph Taylor Russell and wife, Eliza Campbell. Their two daughters were (8) Ruby and Orabelle.

(7) Houston Gound (Feb. 11, 1879-Nov. 9, 1897).

(7) Robert Gound (b. June 7, 1881) married, 1906, Myrtle Bailey; their children were: (8) Edna, Baxter, Louise, and Eugene.

(7) Mary Eliza Gound (June 7, 1881) was the twin sister of Robert. She married, September 6, 1906, at Moberly, Missouri, William Bradshaw (July, 1872-Jan. 6, 1924). They had six children: (8) Lester Bradshaw (June 18, 1907-June 27, 1911); (8) Corine Bradshaw (b. Feb. 8, 1909 at Moberly, Mo.), who is clerk of the district court, Fairbury, Nebraska, and a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution; (8) Hazel Bradshaw (b. Mar. 23, 1911); (8) Elsie Bradshaw (b. May 14, 1915); (8) Robert Bradshaw (b. Feb. 20, 1918); and (8) Frances Bradshaw (b. June 22, 1921), who is the secretary for the division engineer of the Rock Island Railroad and also a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

(7) Maggie Jane Gound (b. Nov. 19, 1884) married John Marley at Moberly, Missouri.

(6) Edward Moore Campbell (1845-1919), a farmer, was the son of James and Sarah (Smith) Campbell. He received by will of his father 108 acres of land, a part of the "home place tract" and was named one of the executors. He married, first, Jeannette Pepper, daughter of James Pepper, and they had three children:[35] (7) Sallie McClaren, who married John Wood; (7) Emma Jane, who was not married; and (7) James Roberson, unmarried, who is an invalid.

Edward Moore Campbell married, second, Nancy Elizabeth Bell (Mar. 2, 1850-Mar. 11, 1910), daughter of John S. and Melinda (Roberts) Bell. Their children were: (7) Josie Bell, William Arthur, Jeannette Houston, Anna Cordelia, Ella Mae, Oscar Alexander, Esther Lynn, Edward Russell, and Martha Elizabeth.

(7) Josie Bell Campbell married Walter Valentine Newman.

(7) William Arthur Campbell was for more than forty years superintendent of the University of Tennessee farm; retired 1949. He married, first, Blanche Smith; second, Theo Bane. The children by first wife were: (8) Margaret, who married a Mr. Couch, and lives in Nashville; (8) Neil, who

[35]Mrs. A. L. Campbell Records.

married twice; (8) Anne Elizabeth, who married Andrew Warner; (8) Clarence Moore Campbell, who lives in Knoxville; (8) Katherine, who married Paul N. Edleman; and (8) Arthur Wilson Campbell, who is employed by Fulton Sylphon Company in Knoxville.

(7) Jeannette Houston Campbell (July 28, 1880-Jan. 21, 1945).

(7) Anna Cordelia (see sketch of Andrew Lamar Campbell).

(7) Ella Mae Campbell (b. Sept. 19, 1883) married first Alexander Baldwin; second, Ralph Miller; third, Arthur Simmons, a veteran of the Spanish American War who was employed by the United States Government in the Pentagon. He died March 1, 1952; had a military funeral; was buried in Arlington Cemetery.

(7) Oscar Alexander Campbell (b. Feb. 12, 1885) married Mary Hawk and lives at Jackson, Tennessee. They have two sons: (8) Oscar William, who lives in Baltimore, and (8) George Edward, who lives in Texas.

(7) Esther Lynn Campbell. (7) Edward Russell Campbell. (7) Martha Elizabeth (b. Feb. 27, 1892) married Walter Leslie, of Waynesville, North Carolina.

JEANEY CAMPBELL LANE

(5) Jeaney Campbell (b. Nov. 15, 1797), daughter of David and Janet (Lockhart) Campbell, was born in Knox County, Tennessee. She married, July 25, 1815, D. Lane, of Warren County, Tennessee.

DAVID CAMPBELL, JR.

(5) David Campbell, Jr. (b. Jan. 1, 1800), son of David and Janet (Lockhart) Campbell, was only thirteen years of age when his father died and he was willed a tract of land. He married, December 4, 1823, Jane Smith, daughter of William Smith. John T. Smith was bondsman and the Rev. R. H. King performed the ceremony.[86] David, Jr., went to Illinois; returned to Cleveland, Bradley County, Tennessee, and later removed to Texas where he died. Their children were: (6) John, William, David Lockhart, Samuel, Robert, Jane, Mary, Elizabeth, and Sallie.

(6) John Campbell (b. 1824 in Knox County; d. in Greene County), was the eldest son of David Campbell, Jr. and wife, Jane Smith, married, first, about 1855, a Miss Scott, of Cocke County, Tennessee, and had a daughter, (7) Eliza Isabelle (b. Mar. 7, 1866, in Greene County). He married, second, a Miss Hucks.[87]

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[86]Knoxville *Register*, Jan. 9, 1824.
[87]From records collected by the late C. K. Hill.

(6) David Lockhart Campbell (Jan. 14, 1828-Sept. 16, 1896) married Judith McAdoo (1832-1918) daughter of Richard McAdoo (who taught in the schools of McMinn and Meigs counties), and granddaughter of Samuel McAdoo. Their children were: (7) John, Richard, James Carpenter, Phoebe, Margaret, Amanda, Sarah, and Katherine.[38]

(7) John Campbell, son of David Lockhart and Judith (McAdoo) Campbell, married, first, Jane Cowan, granddaughter of Samuel Cowan. Their children were: (8) Mollie, who married William Lockmiller; (8) Frances, who married M. E. Thomas, of Sweetwater; (8) William, who married Laura Spradling and lives at Athens, Tennessee; (8) Mason, who died about 1923 at the age of 37; (8) James, who married a Miss Rogers and is living in Chattanooga, Tennessee; (8) John Lewis, who married Gladys Moore and lives in Chattanooga; and (8) Ernie, a daughter, who married William T. Wade, of Athens, Tennessee.

John Campbell married, second, Mrs. Angeline (Owen) Adams. Their children were: (8) Thomas, Samuel, Walter, Fred, and Charles.

(7) Richard Campbell married Sallie Russell, of McMinn County.

(7) James Carpenter Campbell (b. Oct. 1866-d. Dec. 24, 1929) married Mary Ellen Sliger (b. Oct. 14, 1873-living 1954), daughter of Joseph Sliger. They lived at Athens, Tennessee. Their children were: (8) Hubert Chester, William Floyd, and Robert Lester.

(8) Hubert Chester Campbell (b. Sept. 26, 1896 in McMinn County, near Athens), is a farmer and table manufacturer. He served in the United States army during World War I; married Leona Ensminger.

(8) William Floyd Campbell (b. May 28, 1899, in McMinn County) taught school at Decatur, Meigs County, and was for years post master at Decatur. He served as sergeant with the Ordnance Department during World War I; then was in the mail service in Knox County for a number of years. He married, first, Ailene Schubert, who taught school at Decatur, and they had two children: (9) Cora Lee (b. Feb. 1, 1926) and William Paul (b. Feb. 15, 1928). He married, second, Roberta Campbell, daughter of Isaac Campbell but not related to her husband. She was a teacher in the public schools of Union County. They now reside in Knoxville.

(8) Robert Lester Campbell (b. Mar. 26, 1906) was born at Athens, McMinn County, Tennessee; married Mary Ellen Anderson and has a daughter, Peggy. He was with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in Nashville.

(7) Phoebe Campbell, daughter of David Lockhart and Judith (McAdoo) Campbell, married a Mr. Hughes of McMinn County.

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[38]The David Lockhart Campbell family records were contributed by Wm. Floyd Campbell, Knoxville, and John Lewis Campbell, Chattanooga.

(7) Margaret Campbell married Mr. Rogers.

(7) Amanda Campbell married J. B. Adams.

(7) Sarah Campbell married Thomas Sliger.

(7) Katherine Campbell married Lewis Large.

(6) Jane Campbell, daughter of David Campbell, Jr., and Jane (Smith) Campbell, married a Mr. Stanfill. Of her other sisters, (6) Mary Campbell married Mr. Perkins; (6) Elizabeth Campbell married S. A. Parker, a druggist, of Marietta, Oklahoma; and (6) Sallie Campbell married a Mr. Newman.

Some other known descendants of David Campbell, Jr., that are not definitely placed are:[39] J. E. Murphy, Denton, Texas; Mrs. B. W. Ward, Weatherford, Texas; Mrs. Bessie (Campbell) Ervin, Grandfield, Oklahoma; S. L. Campbell, Loco, Oklahoma; Lee Campbell (d. before 1952), who lived at Newark, Texas; Mrs. James H. McDonald, Chickasaw, Oklahoma; Mrs. Sophronia E. (Campbell) Finley, Springtown, Texas; Mrs. Amanda (Campbell) Hall, Marlow, Oklahoma; Mrs. J. P. Dunagan, Olney, Texas; Mrs. W. B. Pearce, Sulphur, Oklahoma; George R. Campbell, Olney, Texas; Mrs. Sophia (Campbell) Leath, Fort Worth, Texas.

BETSY CAMPBELL WILSON

(5) Betsy Campbell (b. June 27, 1802), daughter of David and Janet (Lockhart) Campbell, married, August 1, 1820, John W. Wilson, of Blount County, Tennessee. They were married by the Rev. R. H. King, pastor of Grassy Valley Presbyterian Church.[40]

JOHN STEELE CAMPBELL

(5) John Steele Campbell[41] (May 23, 1808-July 20, 1897), farmer, church officer, son of David and Janet (Lockhart) Campbell, was one of the original elders of the Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church and was interred in the cemetery there. He lived at Concord, Knox County, Tennessee, and was twice married: first, February 7, 1828, to Nancy Smith (b. 1808-d. July 8, 1856), daughter of William Smith; second, August, 1860, to Elizabeth Jane Henry, daughter of James ("Speck") Henry of Blount County.[42]

The children by his first wife were: (6) Jane T. Campbell (b. Feb. 26, 1829-d. before Sept. 30, 1890), who was a member of Pleasant Forest

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[39]Ibid.
[40]Knoxville *Register*, Aug. 22, 1820.
[41]Mrs. A. L. Campbell Records.
[42]W. E. Parham, Blount County Marriages (in Parham Papers, McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tenn.).

Presbyterian Church; William Steele Campbell (Apr. 15, 1834-Feb. 1, 1863); Nancy Lockhart Campbell (b. Aug. 9, 1836); David Walker Campbell (b. May 13, 1839), who was living in California in 1890; Margaret E. A. Campbell (b. Mar. 10, 1841), who married John Sams; John T. Campbell (Dec. 25, 1842-June 23, 1869); and Isabelle Mary (or Mary I.) Campbell, who married David R. Smith and, in 1890, was living in South Dakota.

The children of John Steele Campbell by his second wife, Elizabeth Jane Henry, were (6) James Alexander, Arthur O., Andrew Lamar, and Ada (1868-1885).

(6) James Alexander Campbell (June 30, 1861-June 1, 1943),[43] son of John Steele and Elizabeth Jane (Henry) Campbell, lived at Concord, Route 2; was an elder and clerk of the session of Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church and is buried in the church cemetery. He married, September 15, 1887, Ida Carrie Smith (July 17, 1864-May 23, 1930) and they had six children — all members of the Pleasant Forest Presbyterian Church. (7) Mattie Elizabeth, Carlos R., Ida Cornelia, Lonnie S., Kate M. Clara, and Ina Bartlett Campbell.[44]

(7) Mattie Elizabeth Campbell (b. Aug. 13, 1888) married John Carl Brackett (d. Nov. 28, 1952) and lives at Oak Ridge with her daughter Ruth. A daughter, Anna Marie, married William Wolf and lives in Florida.

(7) Carlos Robert Campbell (b. Dec. 25, 1893) married, first, Gussie Irene Alexander (d. Apr. 14, 1935) and lived at Alcoa. She is buried in Highland Memorial Cemetery. They had a daughter (8) Irene, who married Thomas S. Williams, of Alhambra, California. Another daughter, Ruby Kate, married Jack F. Ferry, of Nashville.

Carlos R. Campbell married, second, Mattie E. Farmer, of Harriman, Tennessee, daughter of Ernest C. Farmer and wife, Flora Jane Simpson, a household furniture merchant, of Harriman. They live in Knoxville, Tennessee, and have one daughter, Evelyn Caroline, aged seven.

(7) Ida Cornelia Campbell (b. Dec. 25, 1893) is a twin sister of Carlos R. She married Edwin Earl Ivie.

(7) Lonnie Steele Campbell (b. Aug. 31, 1896), a farmer, lives in the Boyd Community near Concord. He was a soldier of World War I. He married Cora Lee Campbell, and his daughter, (8) Elizabeth Lee, graduated from Farragut High School and from the University of Tennessee; married August 2, 1953, in Concord Presbyterian Church, William Leonard Sparkman.

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[43]Obituary of J. A. Campbell, Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, June 3, 1943.
[44]Records of Mrs. Mattie Farmer Campbell, Knoxville, Tenn.

(7) Katie Margaret Clara Campbell (b. Jan. 6, 1899) married Lee Lewis Atkins, of Corryton. Their children: (8) Mildred Atkins, a senior at the University of Tennessee, 1954, and Jimmie Atkins. They live in Knoxville.

(7) Ina Bartlett Campbell (b. Sept. 1902) married Lynn Owens Walker and lives in Chattanooga.

(6) Arthur O. Campbell (Jan. 24, 1868-Nov. 19, 1921), farmer, son of John Steele and Elizabeth Jane (Henry) Campbell, married Mary Elizabeth Early (Feb. 21, 1872-Jan. 30, 1933). They lived at Virtue, Knox County; were members of the Cumberland Presbyterian church at that place and were buried in the church cemetery. He was one of the executors of his father's estate in 1897 and received a tract of land. When he died he left his farm in the tenth civil district of Knox County to his wife so she could educate his "minor children."[45] They had ten children:

(7) Oscar K. married Reva Sherrod, of Louisville, Tennessee, and they live at Scranton, Pennsylvania, with their three children, (8) Oscar K. Campbell, Jr., Janet, and Richard Douglass Campbell.

(7) Carl Blaine Campbell (Aug. 26, 1891-Jan. 18, 1952) married Grace O'Neal.

(7) Dexter I. Campbell (Oct. 12, 1893-Apr. 6, 1914).

(7) Laura Pearl Campbell (1888-1934).

(7) Dorothy Bell Campbell married W. R. Bennett; lives in Fountain City, Indiana, and they have a daughter (8) Mildred.

(7) Jenie Hazel Campbell married Claude Gilley, of Woodbury, Tennessee.

(7) George Henry Campbell married Ida Morton, and lives at Martel, Tennessee; they have a daughter, (8) Ruth.

(7) Stella Carrie Campbell married Cecil Smith; lives in Indiana and there are three daughters, (8) Hazel, Evelyn, and Jewell.

(7) Elaine Campbell married Meek Smith; is now a widow.

(7) David Arthur Campbell was a student at Farragut High School. He enlisted in the United States army; went overseas in 1944; was captured by the Germans and held prisoner for a long time. He returned; married Temple Fine, of Lenoir City, and moved to Indiana where he is farming.

(6) Andrew Lamar Campbell (Mar. 22, 1866-Mar. 19, 1946),[46] son of John Steele Campbell and his second wife, Elizabeth Jane Henry, was graduated from Maryville College in 1886 and from the University of

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[45]Knox County, Tenn., Will Book (Knox County Courthouse), No. 9 (February term, 1922), 37.

[46]Obituary of Andrew L. Campbell, Knoxville *Journal*, March 21, 1946.

Michigan in 1892. He taught school at Union, Muddy Creek (now Martel), Virtue, and Concord — all in the same vicinity. He was employed in the rural mail service many years, retiring in 1932. He was a member of the Concord Presbyterian Church and was a public spirited citizens of the community. The clerk of the session of Concord Presbyterian Church in recording the death of Andrew L. Campbell added the note, "Father of a fine Family."[47] What greater eulogy could a man deserve.

He married in 1903 Anna Cordelia Campbell (b. Feb. 21, 1882), daughter of Edward Moore Campbell and wife, Nancy Elizabeth Bell. She is a leader in church and community activities and is the owner of the antique secretary that was the prized possession of David Campbell, co-founder of historic Campbell's Station, which has been loaned to Blount Mansion. Their children are (7) Ada Bell, Anna Elizabeth, Ellen, Josephine, David Alexander, James Edward, Neta Lynn, and John Steele.

(7) Ada Bell Campbell (b. Apr. 7, 1905) was born at Martel, Loudon County; attended school at Martel; graduated from Farragut High School and from Maryville College. She taught at Murphy Institute, Sevierville, and at Farragut High School; also worked in the office of the Farm Security Administration in Knox County. In 1932 she was married to Oscar Wilson Howard, who was teaching in Hardin Valley.

(7) Anna Elizabeth Campbell (b. Nov. 25, 1907) graduated from Farragut High School and, also, from Maryville College. She taught school at Buckhorn, Kentucky, and worked in the office of the Farm Security Administration, in Kentucky. She married Given Marcus Woodward, a progressive farmer, of Germantown, Kentucky, and they have a son, (8) G. M. Woodward, Jr.

(7) Ellen Josephine Campbell (b. Aug. 27, 1910) attended school at Martel, graduated from Farragut High School; was a student at Maryville College, and, at Queen's College, Charlotte, North Carolina. She married Lester Caney Robinson, and now lives at Webster, Indiana. They have two sons, (8) Lester David, born 1943, and James Elbert, born 1945.

(7) David Alexander Campbell[48] (b. Oct. 24, 1913) graduated from Farragut High School, spent two years at Hiwassee College, and was a student at the University of Tennessee. He was a sergeant in the United States Marine Corps for four years in World War II; served overseas twice during the war. In 1951 he married Ruth Campbell, daughter of Jesse Campbell, and was manager of the Concord Telephone Exchange for some time.

(7) James Edward Campbell (b. Sept. 11, 1916) was born at Martel, Tennessee; graduated from Farragut High School, attended Hiwassee Col-

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[47]Concord (Tenn.) Presbyterian Church, Session Book, 1939-54, p. 139.
[48]Mrs. A. L. Campbell Records.

lege two years and graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1941. Quoting from the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* of November 16, 1951, "James E. Campbell, of Concord, has been promoted to Major in the United States Marine Corps Reserve. A graduate of the University of Tennessee, Major Campbell served in the Air Force from 1942 to 1946. As a pilot in the Pacific, he was a member of the 'Bombing Banshees' squadron of the First Marine Air Wing. Decorations include the Distinguished Flying Cross and Air Medal. Now a graduate student in entomology at the University of Tennessee." In 1944 he married Janet Franklin, daughter of Charles Franklin. They have two children: (8) Carolin Ann (born 1945) and James E., Jr. (born 1948).

(7) Neta Lynn Campbell (b. Oct. 6, 1919) graduated from Farragut High School; attended the University of Tennessee. She was a beauty shop operator; married Samuel T. Lawhorn. They have a son about twelve years of age.

(7) John Steele Campbell (b. Feb. 24, 1925) graduated from Farragut High School; was a student at the University of Tennessee, and served with the armed forces in Germany.

III.

JAMES CAMPBELL AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

(4) James Campbell (Feb. 15, 1759-Apr. 8, 1844), soldier, co-founder of Campbell's Station, farmer, miller, was born in Augusta County, Virginia; was the son of (3) Robert Campbell. He married October 6, 1779, Janet (Jane) Allison (b. 1758; d. after 1850) who was living in Washington County, North Carolina, about three miles from Jonesborough (now Jonesboro). With his two brothers, Alexander and David, he took part in the Battle of King's Mountain under Colonel John Sevier.

From James' pension declaration[49] and other papers in the National Archives[50] the facts of his service are taken. He enlisted in May, 1780, while a resident of Washington County, North Carolina (later Tennessee), and served six months as a private in Captain Gibson's company, Colonel John Sevier's regiment; enlisted again in June, 1781, and served six months as a private in Colonel John Sevier's regiment, after which he immediately volunteered again and served two months as orderly sergeant under Colonel Sevier against the Cherokee Indians.

Sergeant James lived in Greene County a few years; then, in 1788, he joined the settlers at Campbell's Station where he aided in building cabins

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[49]Zella Armstrong (comp.), *Some Heroes of the Revolution, Compiled from Pension Statements* (Chattanooga, 1933), Pamphlet No. 1.

[50]Ella Wall (Mrs. B. R.) Van Leer (comp.), Records from Pension Papers in the National Archives and from Other Original Sources (typed copies to be placed in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library). Hereafter cited Van Leer Papers.

and blockhouses and in placing palisades to render the fort stronger. A daughter, Nancy, was born at the Station August 27, 1788. James was a very large man — said to have weighed nearly four hundred pounds — and was known as "Big Jimmie."[51] Not only was he of gigantic size but he was correspondingly strong; he outlived his brothers. Tradition is that Indians would gaze upon him — some with laughter — others with evident fear of the huge man.

"Big Jimmie" was ready to do his part in defending the fort when it was feared the army of Cherokees and Creeks that had passed by in the night with intention of destroying Knoxville would return to attack the families of Campbell's Station, on that awful day of the 25th of September, 1793.[52] When news was brought that the Indians had left the Valley, but that thirteen people at Cavitt's Station, a few miles away, had been slaughtered early that morning, James went with some others to aid in preparing the bodies for burial and in digging the graves.[53] More than one hundred years later a monument was erected at that burial spot upon Mars Hill by the Sons of the Revolution, Tennessee Society.[54] Dr. James D. Hoskins delivered the historical address upon that occasion.

In 1813 James' brother, "Elder" David Campbell, and Archibald McCaleb,[55] two of the co-founders of this "most noted of the early frontier stations," died. Then in 1816, Alexander, the other brother of James, died at his home on the French Broad River. He witnessed, too, the failure of efforts to establish to town of Campbellton[56] and the change of ownership of the Station; also the departure of Colonel Campbell to Wilson County. Yet the community continued to be an important place — a "stop over" point for travelers, homeseekers going west, and as a meeting place for political clans.[57]

James Campbell received a government pension in 1832 for his military services. He prospered on his land — farming, operating a mill, and stock raising. Before his death he provided that each of his children should

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[51]Pilcher, 93, 134.

[52]Ramsey, *Annals*, 580-81.

[53]Van Leer Papers.

[54]Statement of Dr. James D. Hoskins, Knoxville, Tenn.

[55]Archibald McCaleb, born in South Carolina, served in the Revolution and enlisted in the War of 1812. While preparing to journey to the front, he died suddenly, September 16, 1813. See *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1813; Goodspeed Pub. Co., *History of Tennessee*, East Tenn. ed. (Chicago and Nashville, 1887), 1063.

[56]Edward Scott, *Laws of the State of Tennessee, 1715-1820*, 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1821), II, 331. By an act passed in 1815, a town named Lawrenceburgh was laid out on the lands of David Campbell; in 1817, an act was passed that the town so planned should be "known by the name of Campbellton."

[57]G. F. Mellen, "Campbell Station Once More," Knoxville *Sentinel*, June 2, 1914; S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, 3 vols. (Nashville, 1918-20), I, 494-95. In 1827 Campbell's Station was one of the three voting places in Knox County.

receive a share of his real property. In 1839 he deeded to his son, Alexander, a tract of land (two hundred acres) with the provision that he "maintain and support comfortably his mother during her natural life after my death."[58] James died in 1844 and, it is said, was buried in the Virtue Cemetery.

His widow, Jane Allison Campbell, received a pension after her husband's death. In 1845 her dwelling was burned and all her records lost. In 1850 she was living at the home of her son, Alexander.[59] She was then about ninety-two years of age; was, probably, the last one of those courageous women who shared every hardship of frontier settlers at Campbell's Station.

(4) James and Janet (Jane Allison) Campbell had six children that we know of but there may have been others. The names here are listed in alphabetical order: (5) Alexander, James, Jr., John, Nancy, Robert, and William.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

(5) Alexander Campbell (b. 1797-d. after 1850) was a prosperous farmer and an active Grassy Valley Whig. On January 13, 1825, he married Cindrilla (Lucinda) Wells [60] (b. 1800) and they had seven children: (6) James (b. 1826), who was a farmer; had three hundred acres of land that his father gave him; (6) George (b. 1832) and (6) Joseph (b. 1836), who were also farmers; Robert (b. 1838); Mary (b. 1835); and Lucinda (b. 1842).

JAMES CAMPBELL, JR.

(5) James Campbell, Jr. (May 7, 1790-May 17, 1847), farmer, soldier, son of James and Jane (Allison) Campbell, was born at Campbell's Station; died in Lamar County, Texas.[61] He was a soldier of the War of 1812. About 1816 he married Mary Stewart (Mar. 4, 1793-d. 1857), daughter of David Stewart. They lived in Tennessee and Morgan County, Alabama, then about 1833, removed to Lamar County, Texas. James, Jr., was given a headright which, in his will dated March 27, 1847, he left to his wife for her lifetime. Their ten children were: (6) James A., David S., Elvinia Jane, William, Robert A., Andrew J., Mary Ann, Matthew Cyrus Houston, Sarah Hays, and Margaret Frances.

(6) James A. Campbell (b. Sept. 5, 1817, in Tenn.) received a Texas headright in 1839 and was married before 1847.

(6) David S. Campbell (b. Mar. 4, 1819, in Tenn.) also had a headright in Texas and was married about 1839; had four children: (7) James E.

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[58]Knox County, Tenn., Deed Book (Knox County Courthouse), P II, 324.
[59]Laura E. Luttrell (ed.), *United States Census 1850 for Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1949), 32 (No. 514).
[60]Knox County, Tenn., Marriages.
[61]Van Leer Papers.

(b. 1842), Sarah J. (b. 1843), Margaret (b. 1845), and Martha E. (b. 1847).

(6) Elvinia Jane Campbell (b. Aug. 16, 1820) was married before 1847.

(6) William Campbell (b. Feb. 15, 1822) was born in Alabama; removed to Texas. He was elected constable of Lamar County and held that office seven years. He served in the Indian wars of 1840 and, in 1863, enlisted in the Confederate army in Captain Rutherford's company and served west of the Mississippi River until the close of the Civil War. He had a farm of 420 acres. About 1848 he married Elizabeth S. Vincent, daughter of Thomas Vincent, and they had five children: (7) Nancy E., Mary, William T., Richard, and John A.

(6) Robert A. Campbell (b. Sept. 29, 1823).

(6) Andrew J. Campbell (b. Apr. 14, 1825).

(6) Mary Ann Campbell (b. Nov. 30, 1826) become the second wife of John Yates. A grandson of this couple, John Branckeen, Direct, Texas, is the owner of the John Yates Bible that contains records of the family of James Campbell, Jr.

(6) Matthew Cyrus Houston Campbell (b. Aug. 15, 1829). (6) Sarah Hays Campbell (b. Oct. 27, 1831). (6) Margaret Frances Campbell (b. Aug. 21, 1833).

JOHN CAMPBELL

(5) John Campbell, son of James and Jane (Allison) Campbell, married, June 4, 1812, Jane Reed, daughter of Joseph Reed, who died in 1817.

NANCY CAMPBELL

(5) Nancy Campbell (b. Aug. 27, 1888), daughter of James and Jane (Allison) Campbell, was born at Campbell's Station. She married but we know nothing of her family.

ROBERT CAMPBELL

(5) Robert Campbell, farmer, tanner, son of James and Jane (Allison) Campbell, operated a tanyard near the Station. On August 26, 1811, he married Betsy Gamble.[62] He was a witness, in 1812, to the will of his Uncle David Campbell and to deeds made by Colonel Campbell. He served as constable "on Captain Mabra's Company" two years. His daughter, (6) Mary Ann Campbell (b. 1821) was married, December 21, 1843, by the Rev. A. A. Mathes to Hugh M. Craig (b. 1820), son of James W. Craig.[63]

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[62]Knox County, Tenn., Marriages.

[63]The Craig and Swan family records were contributed by Rebecca Swan and Mrs. A. L. Campbell.

They lived on a farm at West Emory in Knox County and had seven children: (7) James W. (b. 1845), who married Lou Yarnell; Lucinda P. (b. 1847); William (b. 1849); Alexander (b. 1851), who lived in Texas; Laura (b. 1853); Pernal (b. 1855); and Rebecca (b. 1858).

(7) Rebecca Craig, daughter of Hugh M. and Mary Ann (Campbell) Craig, was twice married; first to George Nathaniel Swan (Sept. 8, 1832-1873), son of James D. Swan. Their two children were (8) Joseph Leomer and Mary Elizabeth.

(8) Joseph Leomer (Omer) Swan (Feb. 1, 1872-Dec. 3, 1936) was a progressive farmer who lived at Martel, Tennessee. He married Adelia Watt (b. 1873), daughter of John and Sarah (Copeland) Watt, of Ellijay, Georgia. J. L. Swan and wife attended together the East Tennessee Farmers' Conventions and, since the death of her husband, Mrs. Swan has not missed a session. They had three children: (9) Rena Belle Swan, who married Lee Roy Standifer and has two sons who served in World War II; (9) Rebecca Swan, who taught in the public schools of Knoxville and Chattanooga, and is now retired and lives at Martel; and (9) Paul Swan (Aug. 20, 1900-Mar. 20, 1953), who married Mildred Fox, daughter of William E. Fox.

(8) Mary Elizabeth Swan married Charles Campbell, son of Robert Walker Campbell. (See under Robert Walker Campbell for sketch of this family.)

(7) Mrs. Rebecca (Craig) Swan married, second, Frank Walker and had six children: (8) Nannie Walker, who married, first, Elmer Hugh Campbell, Jr. and, second, Robert Tucker; (8) Fannie Walker, who married George McNutt and had a daughter, (9) Bettye (Emily) McNutt, who is the operator of the shop, McNutt and Parker, Florists, Knoxville, Tennessee; and four other children who died in Kansas.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL

(5) William Campbell, son of James and Jane (Allison) Campbell, was a merchant at Campbell's Station. With Charles and Matthew McClung, he was a partner in the firm of McClungs and Campbell, which firm was dissolved June 1, 1819. William was authorized to collect all debts due the firm and pay all demands against it.[64] He was one of three executors of the will of his uncle, David Campbell, in 1813. In 1818, with Robert and James Campbell, he was a witness to a deed of Colonel Campbell to his son, John Campbell. William sold his house at the Station to John Alford and removed to Middle Tennessee.

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[64]Knoxville *Register*, July 10, 1821.

IV.
THE LOCKHART FAMILY

Inasmuch as David and Alexander Campbell, brothers, married sisters, Jane and Mary Lockhart, daughters of William Lockhart,[65] a brief sketch of the Lockhart family is included. William Lockhart was the son of James Lockhart, who immigrated to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, probably about 1742, from Scotland. Soon thereafter he settled in Augusta County, Virginia, where he held civil, military, and religious offices.

On October 28, 1747, at which time he was a citizen of Virginia, James Lockhart had a patent to a tract of land in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania;[66] also a tract of land containing 624 acres in Augusta County, Virginia, was conveyed to him on June 17, 1784, by William Beverly.[67]

In the Augusta Parish Vestry Book, 1746, it is recorded that freeholders and housekeepers assembled at the court house and elected twelve "of the most able men of the Parish to be sworn a vestry." James Patton and James Lockhart were two of those elected and qualified. At the first meeting of the vestrymen, April 6, 1747, James Lockhart was chosen a warden of the church parish and served for a number of years.[68] On June 18, 1746, he served as a witness against two men who were convicted of having "spoken treasonable words."[69]

James Lockhart qualified as "Captain of Foot" in 1752; during the French and Indian War he served as captain of a company of militia and, on July 27, 1756, was one of the officers who held a council of war to decide on locations of military forts.[70]

From 1751 to 1775 he was frequently given a commission as justice of the peace.[71] Finally, he refused to qualify as a justice because of "advanced age and infirmity." He was elected and qualified as sheriff of the county of Augusta in November, 1755.[72]

This soldier and civil officer, in 1761, conveyed to his son, William Lockhart, 324 acres, part of the tract of land conveyed by Beverly in 1748; also he conveyed to his son Patrick the remaining acreage of the same tract.

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[65]Pilcher, 33.

[66]*William and Mary College Quarterly* (Richmond), 2d ser., V (1925), 262.

[67]Lyman Chalkley (comp.), *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800,* 3 vols. (Rosslyn, Va., 1912-13), III, 368. Hereafter cited Chalkley (comp.), *Augusta County, Va. Records.*

[68]*Ibid.,* II, 432, 435.

[69]*Ibid.,* I, 18.

[70]*Ibid.,* 56, 83; H. J. Eckenrode (comp.), *List of the Colonial Soldiers of Virginia* (Richmond, 1917), 56; Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia from 1726-1871,* 2d ed. (Staunton, Va., 1902), 136.

[71]Chalkley (comp.), *Augusta County, Va., Records,* I, 47, 50, 69, 87.

[72]*Ibid.,* III, 40; H. R. McIlwaine (ed.), *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia,* 7 vols. (Richmond, 1907-15), 1752-1755, p. 347.

Both parcels were delivered in 1767.[73] The name of James Lockhart's wife is not known to this writer but the names of four children are known: Mary, Patrick, Randal, and William. Mary Lockhart married, September, 1759, Sampson Mathews (1737-1807), who was lieutenant colonel of a regiment in 1781 in Virginia.[74] Patrick Lockhart was a major in the militia and "served with that rank at Yorktown, 1781."[75] Randal Lockhart married in 1760 but early records of Augusta did not name the bride. In the same year he was appointed a trustee of the town of Staunton, Virginia.[76]

WILLIAM LOCKHART

William Lockhart (1735?-1795), son of James Lockhart, of Augusta County, Virginia, sold to Philip Olinger in 1774 the tract of land conveyed to him by his father in 1761.[77] William married in June, 1761, in Augusta County, Mary Campbell (1737-d. after 1795), daughter of "White" David Campbell and wife, Mary Hamilton.[78] While living in Montgomery County, Virginia, he was appointed a justice of the peace at a court held in that county, November 3, 1779.[79] The family was living in Wythe County when William made his will in 1793, but the next year he purchased land in Rich Valley, Washington County, where he died; so his will was probated in the latter county.[80]

Six children were born to William and Mary Lockhart: James and Martha, who did not marry; Mary, who married Alexander Campbell;[81] Jane (Janet or Jean), who married David Campbell;[82] Sarah (1778-1840), who married William Goodpasture (1777-1848) and lived on the farm settled by her father near "Royal Oak," seat of the Campbells;[83] and Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH LOCKHART HOUSTON

Elizabeth Lockhart (d. about 1817), daughter of William and Mary (Campbell) Lockhart, married, as his first wife, Robert Houston (1760-

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[73]Same as note 67.

[74]R. A. Stewart (comp.), *Genealogy of Members of Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia* (Richmond, 1939), 515.

[75]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Richmond), XXVII (1919), 312, note 4.

[76]William W. Hening (ed.), *The Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia. . .*, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809-23), VII, 475.

[77]Chalkley (comp.), *Augusta County, Va., Records*, III, 542.

[78]*Ibid.*, II, 276; Pilcher, 33-34; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*, 150.

[79]Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia*, 733.

[80]*Ibid.*, 1230, 1327.

[81]For a sketch of this family, see East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 25, pp. 92-110.

[82]See II, ante, this number.

[83]Albert V. and W. H. Goodpasture, *Life of Jefferson Dillard Goodpasture; to Which is Appended a Genealogy of the Family of James Goodpasture* (Nashville, 1897), Appendix.

1835), son of Samuel and Elizabeth (McCrosky) Houston.[84] Robert was born in the part of Augusta County, Virginia, that became Rockbridge County; died in Knox County, Tennessee. His second wife, whom he married in 1809, was Martha Blackburn, daughter of William Blackburn, who was a brother of the Reverend Gideon Blackburn. About 1792 Robert and Elizabeth moved from Washington County, Virginia, to Knox County, Southwest Territory, and lived near what was Neubert's Mill on the Pickens Gap Pike. This was six miles from the Eusebia Presbyterian Church in Blount County, where the family attended church.

They had eight children: Elizabeth (died early), William Lockhart, Samuel, James, Matthew, John, Robert II, and Mary (Polly). William L. Houston married Rebecca Woodward in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and had five children: Robert, Cicero, Richard, and two others. They lived in Missouri. Samuel Houston died in Alabama. James Houston was blind; died in Blount County at the home of Robert Lockhart Houston, a nephew. Matthew Houston married Jane McCrosky, a cousin, and lived in Iowa. John Houston died in Knoxville in 1824; was buried in Eusebia Church Cemetery, Blount County. Mary (Polly) Houston did not marry. From 1856 until her death in 1870, she lived at the home of her half-brother, Joseph E. Houston at Madisonville, Tennessee.[85]

ROBERT HOUSTON II.

Robert Houston II, (1802-1865), son of Robert and Elizabeth (Lockhart) Houston, was a farmer, blacksmith, and stock raiser. He became a member of Eusebia Presbyterian Church, July 16, 1826. All the members of his family were members of that church and most of them were buried there. He married, August 9, 1826, Dorothy Creswell (1807-1886), daughter of William Evins Creswell and wife, Elizabeth McMurray. Andrew Creswell and Samuel McMurray, grandfathers of Dorothy, were Revolutionary soldiers. In 1832 Robert was ordained an elder of the church and held that office as long as he lived. He was also clerk of the church session sixteen years — 1840 until 1856. Their children were: Elizabeth Rowe, Harriet Emily, William Hamilton (1833-1845), Eliza Jane (1837-1838), Saumel Burton, Robert Lockhart, and Nancy Dorthula (1847-1871).

Elizabeth Rowe Houston (1827-1906) married, December 27, 1846, Robert Pickens (b. 1810).[86] Harriet Emily Houston (1831-1856) married

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[84]This Robert Houston must not be confused with the man of the same name who was born in South Carolina and was appointed sheriff of Knox County, Tennessee, in 1792; nor with another one who held a civil office in Blount County. Judge Samuel O. Houston has contributed records of the Houston family.

[85]Polly Houston to John (Steele) Campbell, August 27, 1856 (original letter owned by Mrs. Andrew L. Campbell, Concord, Tenn.).

[86]For a genealogy of the Pickens family, see Nellie P. Anderson, *The John Pickens Family* (Rockwood, Tenn., 1951).

Samuel Henderson McMurray; lived in Alabama; buried at Eusebia. Samuel Burton Houston (1839-1863) was in the senior year at Maryville College when the Civil War ended the education of many students. He enlisted in the United States service at Maryville, Tennessee; was mustered in at Murfreesboro; was a corporal in Company D, Second Regiment, Tennessee cavalry. He was captured February 17, 1863, in Tennessee; confined at Richmond; paroled; died soon after and was buried in a National Cemetery at Annapolis, Maryland.

ROBERT LOCKHART HOUSTON

Robert Lockhart Houston (Jan. 9, 1844-Mar. 16, 1906), farmer, soldier, church officer, school trustee, was the son of Robert Houston II, and wife, Dorothy Creswell. At the age of eighteen years he volunteered for service in the Federal army; was enrolled in September, 1862, in Company D, Second Regiment of Tennessee cavalry and took part in the battle of Stone River (Murfreesboro) and in the operations around Chattanooga; was honorably discharged at Nashville in July, 1865.

He married, January 16, 1868, Margaret Ann Niman (1859-1927), daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth (Davis) Niman. He was for years a trustee of Porter Academy and served the Eusebia Presbyterian Church as elder, clerk of the session, and superintendent of the Sunday School. They were parents of Frances, Samuel O., Carl Thomas, William Edgar, Robert Lockhart II., Joseph O., and Ann Elizabeth.

Francis Houston (b. Nov. 25, 1868) married, April 23, 1891, David Patterson Love, M.D. (d. 1930). They had two daughters and several grandchildren; live in Oregon.

Samuel O'Grady Houston (b. April 13, 1871), lawyer, judge, college trustee, church officer, lives in Knoxville, Tennessee. He received two degrees from Maryville College; also a law degree from the University of Tennessee. He was principal of New Market Academy, 1898-1890. As judge of Knox County, Tennessee, he served sixteen years, 1926-1942. Some of the offices he holds, or has held, are chairman of the Board of Directors of Maryville College, elder and superintendent of the Sunday School of New Prospect Presbyterian Church, president, Sons of the Revolution, Tennessee Society, vice-president of East Tennessee Historical Society, and director of the Bank of Knoxville.

Samuel O. Houston married, June 26, 1901, Katherine McFarland Love (b. Dec. 27, 1875), daughter of Benjamin S. B. and Mary (Simpson) Love, and they had three sons, Carl T., William E., and Robert L. II.

Carl Thomas Houston (1873-1903) married Mary Burns Wade.

William Edgar Houston (1875-1945) married Alberta E. McDaniel and had two daughters.

Robert Lockhart Houston, II. (b. Jan. 9, 1879) received degrees of A.B. and M.A. from Maryville College and S.T.B. from Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In June, 1908, he was ordained a Presbyterian minister. He has served as pastor of churches in Amsterdam (Ohio), Knoxville, and Washington College, Tennessee, and now is pastor of the Sevierville (Tennessee) Presbyterian Church. He married, September 9, 1908, Henrietta Muecke and they had two children, Joseph O. and Ann Elizabeth.

Joseph Oscar Houston (b. July 22, 1881) lives in Maryville. He has devoted many years of service to the Eusebia Presbyterian Church as elder and Sunday School superintendent. He married, October 13, 1904, Hattie Belle McNelly and they are the parents of a daughter and three sons.

Ann Elizabeth Houston lives in Knoxville; is a secretary with the Fidelity Bankers Trust Company. She was first a teacher in the Maryville public schools.

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1953

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

Ashford, Gerald. Jacksonian liberalism and Spanish law in early Texas. (Southwestern hist. qr. July '53. v. 57: 1-37.)

Ball, Clyde L. The public career of Colonel A. S. Colyar, 1870-1877 (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar.-Sept. '53. v. 12: 23-48; 106-28; 213-38.)

Barnhart, John D. Valley of democracy; the frontier versus the plantation in the Ohio valley, 1775-1818. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. press, 1953. xii, 338 p. map, bibliography, $5.00.

Baugh, John C. Enforcement of judgments in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Apr. '53. v. 22: 873-90.)

Beckwith, Arthur. Texas letter from John Hemphill to his brother James in Tennessee. (Southwestern hist. qr. Oct. '53. v. 57: 222-24.)

Belissary, Constantine G. The rise of industry and industrial spirit in Tennessee, 1865-1885. (Jour. of so. hist. May '53. v. 19: 193-215.)

Boom, Aaron M., ed. Letters from a Tennessean working on the Mexican Central Railway, 1882-1883. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '53. v. 12: 334-348.)

Budd, Louis J. Gentlemanly humorists of the Old South. (Southern folklore qr. Dec. '53. v. 17: 232-41.)

Canady, Dayton W., ed. A check list of Tennessee Baptist imprints, 1809-1849. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '53. v. 12: 323-33.)

Chandler, Walter. The court houses of Shelby county. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 7: 72-78.)

Chapman, Maristan. Tennessee Hazard. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953. 367 p. $3.95.

Coleman, Elizabeth Dabney. Southwest Virginia's railroad. (Va. Cavalcade. Spring '53. v. 2: 20-28.)

Corbitt, D. C. and Roberta, eds. Papers from the Spanish archives relating to Tennessee and the old Southwest, XVII, Jan.-Mar., 1791. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 74-88.)

Corn, James Franklin. Removal of the Cherokees from the East. (Filson Club hist. qr. Jan. '53. v. 27: 37-51.)

Coulter, E. Merton. The flags of the Confederacy. (Ga. hist. qr. Sept. '53. v. 37: 188-99.)

Craven, Avery O. The growth of Southern nationalism, 1848-1861. Baton Rouge, La. state univ. press, 1953. xi, 433 p. illus., bibliography, $6.50.

Crabb, Alfred Leland. James Priestly, pioneer schoolmaster. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '53. v. 12: 129-34.)

Creekmore, Pollyanna, comp. Writings on Tennessee history, 1952. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 115-19.)

Creekmore, Pollyanna. Population schedule of the United States census of 1850 for Sevier County, Tenn. Knoxville, Privately printed, 1953. 140 p. multilithed, $3.00.

Denney, Raymond. The Tennessee constitutional convention [1953]. (Tenn. law rev. Dec. '53. v. 23: 15-23.)

De Santis, Vincent P. President Arthur and the independent movements in the South in 1882. (Jour. of so. hist. Aug. '53. v. 19: 346-62.)

Des Champs, Margaret. Presbyterians and others in the South after 1800. (Jour. Presbyterian hist. soc. Mar. '53.)

Des Champs, Margaret. Presbyterians and southern education. (Jour. Presbyterian hist. soc. June '53.)

Dorris, Jonathan Truman. Pardon and amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson: the restoration of the Confederates to their rights and privileges, 1861-1898. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1953. xxii, 459 p. $7.50.

Drake, Robert Y. Casey Jones: the man and the son. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Dec. '53. v. 19: 95-101.)

Durham, Louise. The old Market Street school, 1872-1920. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 7: 57-78.)

Falker, Colonel William C. The white rose of Memphis. With an introduction by Robert Cantwell. New York, Bond Wheelwright, 1953. xxvii, 542 p. $5.00.

Feistman, Eugene G. Radical disfranchisement and the restoration of Tennessee, 1856-1866. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '53. v. 12: 135-51.)

Fels, Rendigs. Wages, earnings, and employment, N. C. & St. L. Railway, 1866-1896. Nashville, Vanderbilt Univ. press, 1953. 72 p. $1.00.

Fishwick, Marshall W. Daniel Boone and the pattern of the western hero. (Filson club hist. qr. Apr. '53. v. 27: 119-38.)

Foreman, Grant. Indian removal. Norman, Oklahoma, Univ. of Okla. press (new edition), 1953. $6.00.

Franke, Norman H. Official and industrial aspects of pharmacy in the Confederacy. (Georgia hist. qr. Sept. '53. v. 37: 175-87.)

Geurin, Wayne. Some folkways of a Stewart County community. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Sept. '53. v. 19: 49-57.)

Gonzales, John E. Henry Stuart Foote in exile. (Jour. of Miss. hist. Apr. '53. v. 15: 90-99.)

Graf, LeRoy P. "Parson" Brownlow's fears: a letter about the dangerous desperate Democrats. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 111-14.)

Grant, C. L. Cave Johnson and the presidential campaign of 1844. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 54-73.)

Grant, C. L., ed. The politics behind a presidential nomination as shown in letters from Cave Johnson to James K. Polk. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '53. v. 12: 152-81.)

Guide to historical markers erected by the Tennessee historical commission. Nashville, Div. of state information, Dept. of conservation, 1953. 2nd ed., 96 p.

Halpert, Herbert, ed. God's country. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Sept. '53. v. 19: 58-63.)

Harbison, Mary Coleman and Pouder, Margaret. A summary of Tennessee's 1953 public acts. (Tenn. planner. Aug. '53. v. 14: 3-53.)

Harkness, David. Literary profiles of the southern states: a manual for schools and clubs. (Univ. of Tenn. News Letter, Jan. '53. v. 32, no. 1: 1-79.)

Harkness, David. The American heritage in historical fiction. (Univ. of Tenn. Record, Nov. '53. v. 56, no. 6: 1-17.)

Hawkins, Donald. A note on Decatur county. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Sept. '53. v. 19: 64-65.)

Henry, Robert S. Railroads of the Confederacy. (Ala. rev. Jan. '53. v. 6: 3-14.)

Henry, Robert Selph. Tennesseans and territory. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '53. v. 12: 195-203.)

Hesseltine, William B. Lyman Draper and the South. (Jour. of so. hist. Feb. '53. v. 19: 20-31.)

Hesseltine, William B. and Gara, Larry, eds. Lyman Draper's account of lost western manuscripts. (Bulletin of the hist. and phil. soc. of Ohio. July '53. v. 11: 192-204.)

Hinds, Dudley. A stitch in time. (Tenn. planner. Apr. '53. v. 13: 127-30.)

Hooker, Richard J., ed. The Carolina backcountry on the eve of the revolution: the journal and other writing of Charles Woodmason, Anglican itinerant. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1953. xi, 305 p. map, $5.00.

Horn, Stanley F. The army of Tennessee, 2nd ed. Norman, Univ. of Okla. press, 1953, 503 p. $6.00.

Horn, Stanley F., ed. The papers of Major Alonzo Wainwright. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '53. v. 12: 182-84.)

Hurdle, Virginia Jo. Folklore of a Negro couple in Henry County. Ed. by Herbert Halpert. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Sept. '53. v. 19: 71-78.)

Jordan, Weymouth T. Cotton planters' conventions in the old South. (Jour. of so. hist. Aug. '53. v. 19: 321-45.)

Justis, May. Children of the Great Smoky mountains. (Illustrations by Robert Henniberger). New York, Dutton, $2.50.

Knight, Edgar W. A documentary history of education in the South before 1860. vol. IV, Private and denominational efforts. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1953. xii, 516 p. $12.50.

Labor injunctions in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Apr. '53. v. 22: 957-62.)

LeDuc, Thomas. Script versus land: the value of the federal grant to the agricultural colleges of the public-land states of the South. (Jour. of so. hist. May '53. v. 19: 216-20.)

Lemmon, Sarah M. Transportation segregation in the federal courts since 1865. (Jour. Negro hist., Apr. '53. v. 38, no. 2: 174-195.)

Lepawsky, Albert. Dams and democracy. (Va. qr. rev. Autumn, 1953.)

Littrell, Anita. Home, ham, and hominy. Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton printers, Ltd., 1953. $4.00.

Lowe, Maggie J. An old ballad composer of the nineties. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Dec. '53. v. 19: 85-93.)

Luttrell, Laura E., comp. Some founders of Campbell's station, Tennessee: a genealogy of Alexander, David, and James Campbell. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 89-110.)

McCall, William A. Cherokees and pioneers. Knoxville, Standard souvenirs, 5005 Chapman Highway, 1953, $1.00.

McDowell, Flora L. Folk dances of Tennessee. Delaware, Ohio, Cooperative recreation service, 1953. $1.00.

McIntyre, Florence M. The history of art in Memphis. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 7: 79-92.)

McKinney, Francis F. The first East Tennessee campaign. (Michigan alumnus. May 23, '53. v. 59.)

Mahon, John K., ed. The Civil War letters of Samuel Mahon, Seventh Iowa infantry. (Iowa jour. of hist. June '53.)

Meyers, Marvin. The Jacksonian persuasion. (Amer. qr. Spring, '53, v. 5: 3-15.)

Mitchell, Eleanor Drake. A preliminary checklist of Tennessee imprints, 1861-1866. Charlottesville, Bibliographical soc. of the univ. of Va. 99 p. bibliography, index, $2.00.

Moore, Mrs. John Trotwood. The Tennessee state library in the capitol. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '53. v. 12: 3-23.)

Nevins, Allan. The statesmanship of the Civil War. New York, Macmillan, 1953. 82 p. $2.25.

Noel, Dix W. Products liability of a manufacturer in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. June '53. v. 22: 985-1010.)

Olmsted, Fredrick Law. The cotton kingdom: a traveller's observations on cotton and slavery in the American slave states, based upon three former volumes of journeys and investigations by the same author. Edited with an introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. lxiii, 626, xvi p. appendices. $6.75.

Our 1870 constitution gets its first amendments. (Tenn. planner. Dec. '53. v. 14: 118-20.)

Parrent, H. Clinton, Jr. Adolphus Heiman and the building methods of two centuries. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '53. v. 12: 204-12.)

Parsons, Mildred. Negro folklore from Fayette County. Edited by Herbert Halpert. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Sept. '53. v. 19: 67-70.)

Partin, Robert. A Confederate sergeants' report to his wife during the campaign from Tullahoma to Dalton. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '53. v. 12: 291-308.)

Patten, Cartter. A Tennessee chronicle. Chattanooga, Privately printed, 1953. x, 286 p. $3.50.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. The savages of America: a study of the Indian and the idea of civilization. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins press, 1953, xv, 252 p. $4.00.

Pennington, Edgar. The organization of the Episcopal church in Tennessee. (Hist. mag., Prot. Epis. church. Mar. '53.)

Phelps, Dawson A., ed. The diary of a chaplain in Andrew Jackson's army. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '53. v. 12: 264-81.)

Phelps, Dawson A. and Willett, John T. Iron works on the Natchez trace. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '53. v. 12: 209-22.)

Phelps, Dawson A. Travel on the Natchez trace: a study of its economic aspects. (Jour. of Mississippi hist. July '53. v. 15: 155-64.)

Phifer, Gregg. Andrew Johnson versus the press in 1866. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 3-23.)

Pike, James Edward, ed. Indian hostilities in Texas, 1872. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '53. v. 12: 349-66.)

Pike, James Edwards, ed. A letter home. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '53. v. 12: 239-63.)

Poland, John. Here's how we grew. (Tenn. planner. Feb. '53. v. 13: 100-04.)

Polk, William T. Southern accent: from Uncle Remus to Oak Ridge. New York, William Morrow, 1953. vii, 264 p. $4.00.

Qualls, J. Winfield. The beginnings and early history of the Le Moyne School at Memphis, 1871-1874. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 7: 5-37.)

Quarles, Benjamin. The Negro in the Civil War. Boston, Little, Brown, 1953. 379 p. $5.00.

Quenzel, Carrol H. A Billy Yank's impressions of the South. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '53. v. 12: 99-105.)

Rachel, William M. E. Salt the South could not savor. (Va. Cavalcade. Autumn '53. v. 3: 4-7.)

Remote contributory negligence: a Tennessee concept. (Tenn. law rev. June '53. v. 22: 1030-39.)

Res ipsa loquitur in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Apr. '53. v. 22: 925-43.)

Rogers, E. G. Some East Tennessee figurative expressions. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. June '53. v. 19: 36-39.)

Ross, Edward Hunter and Phelps, Dawson A., tr. and ed. A journey over Natches trace in 1792: a document from the archives of Spain. (Jour. of Mississippi hist. Oct. '53. v. 15: 252-73.)

Rust, John. The origin and development of the cotton picker. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 7: 38-56.)

Saloutos, Theodore. The grange in the South, 1870-1877. (Jour. of so. hist. Nov. '53. v. 19: 473-87.)

Sellers, Charles G. Jr. James K. Polk's political apprenticeship. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 37-53.)

Simpkins, Francis Butler. A history of the South. 2d rev. ed. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. xiii, 655, xxiii p. trade, $7.50, text, $5.75.

Sloop, Mary T. Miracle in the hills. New York, McGraw Hill, 1953. Foreward by LeGette Blythe. Nine illustrations, 232 p. $3.50.

Smith, Dwight L. The contest with the Indians. (American heritage. Spring '53. v. 4: 32-37.)

Smith, Elbert B. Thomas Hart Benton: Southern realist. (American hist. rev. July '53. v. 58: 795-807.)

Syrett, Harold C. Andrew Jackson: his contribution to American tradition. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953. 298 p. $3.00.

Thompson, Lawrence S. Foreign travelers in the South, 1900-1950. Kentucky hist. soc. register. July '53. v. 51: 217-27.)

Throne, Mildred, ed. The Civil War diary of Cyrus F. Boyd. Iowa City, The State hist. soc. of Iowa, 1953. 135 p. $2.00.

Saylor, Hillsman. The history of the Memphis open air theater. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 7: 93-100.)

The Tennessee class doctrine: a spectre at the bar. (Tenn. law rev. Apr. '53. v. 22: 943-57.)

Trimble, Sarah Ridley, ed. Behind the lines in Middle Tennessee, 1863-1865: the journal of Bettie Ridley Blackmore. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '53. v. 12: 48-80.)

Turner, George Edgar. Victory rode the rails: the strategic place of the railroads in the Civil War. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953. xiv, 419 p. $4.50.

Underhill, Ruth M. Red man's America. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago press, 1953. x, 400 p. maps, illustrations, $5.50.

Weems, Robert C. The makers of the bank of the Mississippi. (Jour. of Mississippi hist. July '53. v. 15: 137-54.)

Wengert, Norman. Antecedents of T. V. A. (Agricultural history. Oct. '52.)

White, Robert H. The legislative fathers of our judiciary. (Tenn. law rev. Dec. '53. v. 23: 8-14.)

Woodward, C. Vann. The irony of Southern history. (Jour. of so. hist. Feb. '53. v. 19: 3-19.)

Wooten, Hugh Hill. Westward migration from Iredell County, 1800-1850. (North Carolina hist. rev. Jan. '53. v. 30: 61-71.)

Young, Carol Furlong. A study of some developing interpretations of the history of Revolutionary Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 25: 24-36.)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESIS, 1953

East Tennessee State College

Fuller, Hugh E. Joseph Ketron and his Kingsley Seminary, Sullivan County, Tennessee.

Nave, Robert T. A history of the iron industry in Carter County to 1860.

Memphis State College

Durham, Louise. The Old Market Street School.

Taylor, O. R. Public education in Lauderdale County, 1910-1950.

Middle Tennessee State College

Harris, Kenneth Leroy. A history of the industrial school.

Link, Gertrude Bible. A history of Marion County.

Pittard, Mabel Baxter. The Coleman Scouts.

Parker, Elizabeth C. History of Giles County, Tennessee.

University of North Carolina

Miller, William Durell. Memphis during the progressive era.

University of Tennessee

Gilley, Billy Hawkins. Tennessee opinion of the Mexican War as reflected in the state press.

Hyde, Grace V. A bibliographical checklist of Nashville imprints, 1867-1876, with an introductory essay on Nashville literature and publishers of the era.

Haisty, Shirley E. A study of state organization to meet problems of aging.

Johnson, John A. The geography of freight transportation on the Tennessee river.

Maurer, Berge B. The rural church and organized community activity-community relations in two East Tennessee communities.

Scott, William Blair. The topographical influences on the campaigns in Middle and West Tennessee during the first year of the Civil War.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

A Tennessee Chronicle. By Cartter Patten. (Chattanooga: Privately printed, 1953. Pp. 283. Maps, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"This book attempts to present the historical background of the State of Tennessee, in a simple and clear manner. While it contains little new material, it condenses a great deal of existing information into a connected account that I hope will give Tennesseans and others a better understanding of the events, conditions, and problems of the past, and thus in many instances, the reasons why things are, as they are, at present." (Foreword.)

William Blount. By William H. Masterson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, *Southern Biography Series,* 1954. Pp. xi, 278. Illustrations, map, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $5.00.)

"William Blount of North Carolina grew up in the turbulent period of the American Revolution. He served in the army and in the Continental Congress, and was a powerful figure in his frequent terms in the state's legislature. He was also a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1787 and was influential in his state's adoption of the Constitution. . . .

"The story of William Blount describes a man who combined the two significant roles of businessman and politician in the formative period of American history. The businessman and the politician have been particularly interesting figures in this country — where business success and political experimentation have been of intentional significance. . . .

"In 1790, Blount was appointed Governor and Indian Superintendent of the far West area, now the State of Tennessee. His contests there with French and Spanish agents and his administration of the Indian affairs both in war and peace constitute a vital part of the Southwestern history in that critical period. Meanwhile, his vast land speculations produced equally important repercussions.

"In 1796 when Tennessee became a state, Blount was elected to the United States Senate, where he took part in national political battles. In Congress, Blount's political and business careers involved him in the famous Blount conspiracy, culminating in the first, precedent-forming senatorial impeachment trial in American history." (Jacket.)

Inherited Domain: Political Parties in Tennessee. By William Goodman. (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, The University of Tennessee *Record,* Extension Series, Vol. XXX, No. 1, 1954. Pp. ix, 95. Maps, footnotes, index.)

"In the United States the interest manifested in national politics has always been sustained and compelling, and the political development of the country is generally viewed from the vantage point of the nation's capital. It has been more difficult to develop a comparable interest in and to give equal attention to state and local politics since the issues there seem less

grandiose and the results of elections and government decisions appear to be less crucial. Nevertheless, the longer we study and marvel at national politics, the more we are impressed with the fact that it is the superstructure of the American political system and that its base should be more thoroughly examined and better understood. It is in the hope of making some contribution to the sum total of knowledge about the base of politics that this study is undertaken." (Preface.)

A Minister in the Tennessee Valley: Sixty-seven Years. By Isaac Patton Martin. (Nashville: Parthenon Press for The Methodist Historical Society of Holston Conference, 1954. Pp. 234. Illustrations. $2.50.)

"Fifty-two years of active service as a Methodist preacher, crowned with twelve years as a retired preacher, gave me undreamed of opportunities for acquaintance with the people of the Holston Country. The call of duty had led me into nearly every county in East Tennessee and Southwest Virginia. I have worshiped with their people in their churches, enjoyed the hospitalities of their homes, married their sons and daughters, and buried their dead.

"When the time came for my retirement I was overwhelmed by their expressions of affection. When they began to ask me about writing the story of my life, I was forced to tell them that I had no plans about such an undertaking. I was busily engaged with the completion of other books. But my friends continued to press their request so earnestly that I was contrained to think seriously of making an effort to comply with their desires; and I found myself looking back over the trail which I have traveled for nearly eighty-six years. I found nothing else so remarkable as the length of the trail. I found nothing in my own life so interesting as the people with whom I traveled from infancy until today." (Foreword.)

General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, *Southern Biography Series,* 1954. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $6.00.)

"The story of Kirby Smith is the story of a soldier. Born in St. Augustine, Florida, and appointed to West Point from that state, Kirby Smith graduated from the Academy in time to see service in the Mexican War and was twice breveted for bravery. The 1850's he spent at various frontier outposts. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Colonel Smith was stationed in Texas, but choosing to fight with forces from his native Florida, he resigned from the United States Army and hurried to Confederate Headquarters in Montgomery, where President Jefferson Davis assigned him to Lynchburg, Virginia.

"Soon he was a brigadier with General Joseph E. Johnston in Northern Virginia, and was wounded at Bull Run where he had arrived to assist in the rout of Union Forces. . . .

"The general's assignment from Lynchburg was in northern Virginia. In the Spring of 1862, he went to the defense of the Department of East Tennessee through which ran the vital Virginia railroad. There a hostile population and the lack of adequate forces kept him busy in an effort to hurl back potential invaders. During the Fall of 1862, he and General Braxton Bragg made their invasion of Kentucky, a campaign that netted

brilliant small victories and then discouraging retreat. Smith became disgruntled and wished to be separated completely from Bragg's command.

"In the Spring of 1863 he went west as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. . . .

"Following the fall of the Confederacy, Kirby Smith, as the last Confederate General to surrender, escaped to Mexico and then Cuba, returning a few months later to the States to begin the quiet life of a civilian. The last twenty years of his life were devoted to teaching, and he died at Sewanee, Tennessee, in 1893, where he had been a professor at the University of the South." (Jacket.)

Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper. By William B. Hesseltine. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954. Pp. xiii, 384. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $4.50.)

"Like many folk tales, the legend of Lyman Draper is compounded of half-truths. A romantic antiquarian, believing the heroes of the Western border had not received their due meed of praise, he gathered a great collection of manuscripts and notes which would rescue the pioneers of the Revolutionary era from oblivion. An innovator rather than an originator, he was a carrier of culture to the frontier, bringing imagination and zeal to the task of building a historical society in the wilderness. Believing that a people could lift itself by its own boot-straps he founded and built a great library whose resources made possible a great experiment in extending the areas of American democracy. Withal, he was a frustrated man who never achieved his ambition to become a popular writer, and his failure to write the books that he promised constitutes his crime.

"Yet he was a pioneer to history, gathering the first great collection of private nonofficial documents relating to the old Revolutionary border, and promoting the study of history in a state which, during the years of his service, moved from a raw wilderness to the verge of leadership. Others came to use his material, and to write, better than he could have done, the books he planned and dreamed. He created a climate of opinion—a belief that the West and its history was important—and others formulated those opinions into the formal postulates of significant historical interpretation." (Preface.)

The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. By Avery O. Craven. Vol. VI of *A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1953. Pp. xvi, 433. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $6.50.)

"To write of the South in the years from 1848 to 1861 presents many difficulties not faced by those who write of other periods. By that time social-economic institutions and habits were pretty well established and most that was to characterize the region as a distinct unit in American life was more or less fixed. There would be a few changes in the state governments, in the educational systems, and in agriculture and industry in the next decade, but they would largely represent developments on foundations already well laid. Most that would occur would have to do with the relations

of the section to the other states and to the Federal government. A civil war was coming on and the growth of Southern nationalism, which gives title to this volume was largely a product of those relationships. This work of necessity, therefore, becomes more than just a history of the South. It is, to a degree, the story of the development of the sectional quarrel as seen through the evolution of Southern attitudes towards national events. It becomes an effort to explain how the American states drifted into civil war through the breakdown of the democratic process in government." (Author's preface.)

A DeVault Genealogy with Gilmore and Hunt Supplements. By William B. Gilmore. (Arlington, Va.: Privately multilithed, 1954. Pp. 97.)

"This DeVault Genealogy is primarily a record of the family of Jacob DeVault, the eleventh and youngest child of Henry and Catherine Maria (Graver) DeVault who came to America from Germany in 1766, and settled in York County, Pennsylvania near the town of Hanover." (Preface.)

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. XIX, *The Territory of Arkansas, 1819-1825;* Vol. XX, *The Territory of Arkansas, 1825-1829.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953, 1954. Pp. xiii, 1003; vii, 967. Maps, footnotes, index. $6.50, $4.25.)

This collection of territorial papers is of considerable interest to Tennesseans because of the considerable number of citizens of the Volunteer State who participated in the settlement of Arkansas. The indexes of the two volumes include numerous references to Tennessee.

The Hidden Self: Poems. By Barbara McClung. (New York: Exposition Press, 1954. Pp. 64.)

This slender volume of "exquisite verse" is by Mrs. C. M. McClung, the donor of the McClung Award to the contributor of the best article in the annual *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society, and the widow of the donor of the original McClung Historical Collection of Tennesseana in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

NOTES AND NEWS, 1953

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "Richard Green Waterhouse: Pioneer Citizen of Tennessee Valley," by Mrs. Penelope Johnson Allen, of Chattanooga.

FEBRUARY. "Early Days in Hawkins County," by Prentiss Price, of Rogersville.

MARCH. "Parson Brownlow," by Mr. Sam Epps Young, of Knoxville.

APRIL. Miss Nannie Lee Hicks and a group of her students in American history at Central High School gave a program on "Two Historic Knox County Communities: Corryton and Harbison's Cross Roads."

MAY. The Society held its annual out-of-town meeting in Greeneville on Saturday, May 16.

Mr. Richard H. Doughty served as chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. He and his committee planned a full, interesting, and entertaining afternoon and evening.

Beginning at 2:30 P. M. a motorcade of some 20 cars made a tour of historic spots and homes around Greeneville. The following places were visited: Andrew Johnson Tailor Shop and Home, "Boxwood Manor," the home of Mrs. Bessie Brown Milligan, the Crislip Home, the Sevier-Lowry-O'Keefe Home, the Valentine Sevier Home, St. James Episcopal Church. The members and guests were entertained at tea at the home of the Chairman, Mr. Doughty.

At 6:30 P. M. an informal dinner was held in the General Morgan Room of the Brumley Hotel with about 75 persons present. Mrs. Edith Susong, publisher of the Greeneville Sun, gave the welcome. Mrs. Ferol Frost Hubbs, Regent of the Nolachucky Chapter, D. A. R., gave an informative talk on "The Records of Greene County." She presented the Society with a list of Greene County cemeteries.

Mrs. Margaret Johnson (Patterson) Bartlett presented a gavel made from the tree grown from a willow sprout from the grave of Napoleon on St. Helena, which had been transplanted at the Johnson home.

Following the dinner a program was given in the Holtsinger Chapel of the Greeneville Cumberland Presbyterian Church which had recently undergone restoration.

Mr. Doughty served as program chairman and introduced the speakers and their subjects. They were:

Mrs. Harriet Reaver Crislip, "Robert Kerr and the Founding of Greeneville in 1783."

Walter R. Gray, "Greeneville and Tusculum College."

Mrs. Frieda Harmon Bowman, "Elementary Education in Greeneville prior to 1865."

John M. Jones, "The Greeneville Press Prior to 1865."

Elizabeth McInturff, "The Greeneville Election of 1829."

Marie Williams, "The Dickson-Williams Family and General John H. Morgan."

The meeting was adjourned and a social hour followed.

OCTOBER. The Annual Banquet was held on October 10, at the S and W Cafeteria at Knoxville. Kermit Hunter, Department of English, University of North Carolina, spoke on "Some Aspects of the Outdoor Historical Drama, with Special Reference to 'Unto These Hills'."

NOVEMBER. "The Memoirs of Dr. Abraham Job, Pioneer Washington County Physician," by Mrs. Mary Hardin McCown, of Johnson City.

DECEMBER. "Cades Cove: the Pioneer Story," by Henry Lix, Naturalist with the National Park Service, Great Smoky Mountains National Park. At this meeting the following officers were elected for the year 1954: president, Harold S. Fink, University of Tennessee; vice-presidents: Knoxville area, Mrs. E. L. Bowman; Upper East Tennessee, George W. Anderson, Kingsport; Lower East Tennessee, Gilbert E. Govan, Chattanooga; secretary: Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer: Martha L. Ellison, Lawson McGhee Library; members of the Executive Committee: C. E. Allred, University of Tennessee; James S. Bowman, TVA; I. N. Carr, Carson-Newman College; Nannie Lee Hicks, Knoxville; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, of the University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications*. Daniel M. Robison, Tennessee State Library, and Joseph H. Parks, Birmingham-Southern College, were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's *Publications*, was awarded for the year 1953 to Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University, for his article, "James K. Polk's Political Apprenticeship." The judges were Robert C. Cotner, University of Texas, Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College, and J. Harvey Young, Emory University.

RESOLUTION
IN MEMORY OF HARRY SYDNEY HYMAN

We, the members of East Tennessee Historical Society, have the honor to offer a tribute to the memory of our highly esteemed and departed President, Harry S. Hyman, and desire to present:

RESOLUTION

Harry Hyman, a long time member and twice elected President of our Society, was born November 3, 1889, in Knox County, Tennessee, and died on Monday, April 27, 1953, at the East Tennessee Baptist Hospital. His home was at 308 Walnut Street, this city. After having graduated from public and high schools in Knoxville, he later attended our state university and graduated from the University of Tennessee Law College in June, 1913.

Some of the older citizens will remember the Law Firm of Washburn and Hyman. Harry was an able lawyer, honest, conscientious, and loyal to his clients. Many eminent jurists paid him the compliment by stating that Harry knew his law suit when he came into Court. He was a veteran of World War I and served in connection with a training unit at the

University of Tennessee. Ever since World War I ended he has been actively interested in American Legion activities, and both the local and national Legion organizations conferred high honor upon him. He was a past commander of Knoxville Post No. Two and a past Judge advocate (Avocat nationale) of the "40 et 8." He also was elected President of the Mid-Atlantic Promenade of the "40 et 8" in Chattanooga four years ago. His selfless service given to veterans, their widows, orphans, kith and kin, stamped him as a true friend of those who could not care for themselves.

He was called into the Federal service as attorney after the establishment of the Area Rent Office in this section and later rose to the position of Area Rent Director for Knox, Blount, Anderson, Roane, and Loudon counties. He held this position until the office was discontinued in 1949. It was a thankless job, but Harry showed an ever-present desire to reach the real merits of each case brought before him.

It can truthfully be said that he was a Christian gentleman, although he was not identified as a member of any church. He displayed a keen interest in young men who graduated from law schools, and with his sincerity and his strong personality he helped to mould the character and thinking of the many whom he took as protegees. He was survived by his widow, whom he had married August 29, 1950, and by brothers, one sister, and nephew of New York and by a step-son Arthur E. Hill, Knoxville. He was a member of the local, state, and national Bar Associations, Exchange Club, and Torch Club and had been grand exalted ruler of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. In December, 1951, Mr. Hyman was elected President of East Tennessee Historical Society which position he held when he passed away. He was a leader in the movement to purchase and rehabilitate the ancient Chisholm Tavern on Front Avenue in this city. Throughout his life he evinced an abiding interest in the history of East Tennessee.

Be it therefore resolved by East Tennessee Historical Society that in the death of Harry S. Hyman our Society has lost an able officer and the community a distinguished citizen, a God-fearing man whose love and sympathy for his fellowman was boundless; and that we, his friends and associates, mourn his loss and do now tender to his family our genuine sympathy and the foregoing as a tribute to his memory.

Very respectfully submitted,

S. J. Folmsbee
Robert P. Mehaffey
Committee

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Kermit Hunter is part-time instructor of English at the University of North Carolina and the author of the scripts of several outdoor historical dramas.

Billy H. Gilley, a former graduate student at the University of Tennessee, is connected with the Tullahoma *News,* Tullahoma, Tennessee.

Leslie F. Roblyer, a former graduate student at the University of Tennessee, is principal of an elementary school in El Reno, Oklahoma.

Russell L. Stockard is instructor of history and geography at The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, Tallahassee, Florida.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Hstorical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Laura Luttrell was formerly head of the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

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